THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

An important change has been made in the executive branch of the Society. Mr. Walter Besant, who has for some time been practically an Honorary Secretary, has now formally resigned his post as Secretary and been elected by the Committee their Honorary Secretary. He finds that other work, which he cannot refuse or postpone, now so much presses upon him that he can no longer, as heretofore, give the time and attention necessary for the proper management of the affairs of the Fund. He proposes, however, for the present to continue his services as adviser, and can generally be found at the Society's offices in the afternoon by appointment.

Mr. George Armstrong, who has been connected with the Society almost continuously since the year 1871, has been appointed Assistant Secretary. Mr Armstrong went out to Palestine in November, 1871, in order to commence the Survey. In 1875 he came home with Captain Conder, and remained at home drawing the maps and working out the observations while Col. Kitchener finished the Survey of Western Palestine. In 1881 he went out again with Captain Conder in order to survey the Eastern part of the country. Since his return he has been employed in the office as draughtsman. Most of the maps, drawings, and illustrations which have recently appeared are Mr. Armstrong's work. He will continue this part of his work. His appointment will give great satisfaction to the many friends of the Fund who have made his acquaintance.

The first practical effect of his appointment will be that all cheques and postal orders *should be now payable to his order.* They should also be crossed to Coutts and Co. A better plan, and one which is much more convenient for the Committee, as it ensures safety and saves clerical labour, is for every subscriber to fill up a form and give it to his banker, instructing him to pay on the 1st of January his annual subscription to the Society.

The year 1887 was marked by many important discoveries:—

(1) First in importance, perhaps, must be placed Herr Schick's discovery of the Byzantine pavement (*see* p. 17, *infra*), which in the opinion of most cannot be anything other than the open space made and paved by Constantine in front of his group of churches. It is of less importance, but it is still interesting to ascertain that on this pavement stood the vaulted street, long lost, described in Crusading accounts. A fuller note on this discovery appears in this number.

Next must be mentioned the Sidon tombs. Professor Hayter Lewis has

given an account of these, which will be found in its place, together with Hamdi Bey's own paper on the subject, republished by permission of the Editor, from the *Revue Archeologique*. In this place we may only point out that no more valuable and interesting find of this kind has ever been made. For drawings and photographs of the tombs we must now wait until Hamdi Bey's promised work on the subject appears.

(3) The district of Jaulan, the Golan of Manasseh, which has been surveyed, is 39 miles in length at its longest points and 18 in breadth. It comprises an area of 560 square miles. On the best map of Palestine there are found about 150 names. On Schumacher's there are 600, being the names of ruined towns, springs, ancient highways, remnants of oak forests, perennial streams, great fields of dolmens, with some remarkable volcanic features. The volcanic mountain, Tell Abu en Nida, rises to the height of 4,123 feet, and that called Tell Abu Yusef to the height of 3,375 feet. Herr Schumacher has drawn upwards of 152 plans and sketches of the country. He has collected a great variety of information on the manners and customs of the people. He has made special plans of the hot springs, &c., of Amatha, the Zaphon of Joshua xiii, 27, and of Kulat el Husn-Gamala, Susitha and Fîk.

The district of Northern Ajlûn, also surveyed, contains 220 square miles, a population of 10,460, and shows on the map 334 names of places. There are in the Memoir detailed plans of 100 places – churches, theatres, vaults, mausoleums, temples, walls, columns, capitols, street pavements, sarcophagi, caves, cisterns, birkets, aqueducts, and ornamental work; there are collections of mason's marks, Greek inscriptions, drawings of dolmens and stone walls; and there are detailed plans of Umm Keis (Gadara) and Beit Ras (Capitolias).

The district contains about a thousand dolmens scattered over extensive fields; the fertility of the soil is inferior to that of the Hanan; the water supply is chiefly derived from cisterns; there are everywhere patches of forest, now chiefly oak, though the remains of oil presses show that there were previously olives. Herr Schumacher gives also an account of the inhabitants, who are chiefly Moslems.

(4) A capital in white marble, found in the Temple area, and engraved for the January (1887) *Quarterly Statement*, has proved of the highest interest for architects. It is of Ionic-Byzantine style, and is said by Mr. P. Pullan, one of the best authorities on the subject, to be a work of the eighth or ninth century.

(5) The Recovery of the ancient wall of Tiberias with its Acropolis. It is now proved that the Herodian city was no mean little Galilean village, but a noble city, with a great wall three miles in length, and a stately citadel.

(6) The attempted reading of the Hittite Inscriptions by Captain Conder. There have been many attacks made upon his method, which is put forward by the Committee not as the true solution of the problem, but as Captain Conder's solution. He is himself confident that in the main his method will be adopted.

(7) The publication by Mr. Guy le Strange of the catalogue of Arab writers who have spoken of the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. So many loose statements have been made as to what Arab historians have said upon this subject that it was most desirable to get

once for all an exact statement of what has been written. Had this been done before, a great deal of controversy might have been saved.

(8) Herr Schick has discovered what he believes to be the remains of Herod's amphitheatre (*Quarterly Statement*, 1887, p. 161).

(9) Herr Schumacher has sent home his Survey of Pella and the adjoining district. This will be printed in the same manner as the Survey of the Jaulan, and will be presented to subscribers. The memoir on this interesting place (where the Christians retreated on the outbreak of the troubles with the Romans) contains—(I.) a plan of the ruins, valley, &c., on the scale of six inches to the mile; (II.) about a dozen photographic views, with upwards of 40 plans and sketches; (III.) plans of the ruined tower Kh-Fahl, the Acropolis, two temples, the mausoleum, the cemetery covered with sarcophagi, certain curious caves, the great Basilica, a mound with other caves having stone doors, hot springs, and one Greek inscription. There are also 83 pages of description. We have also to thank Herr Schumacher for sending many notes of objects of interest observed by himself from time to time.

This is a very fair record of work for the year. As for 1888, it remains to be seen what will be done in the way of discovery. As regards publications, we have already announced that we intend to give to subscribers Schumacher's "Survey of the Jaulân" and his "Survey of Pella and Northern Ajlûn," so printed that they may be bound up separately in volume form uniform with Conder's "Tent Work."

We have received, but must keep over for the present, Dr. Post's narrative of his scientific expedition in the Trans-Jordanic region in the spring of the year 1886, with an account of the flora in the region round Damascus. This will be published immediately. Many of the plants are new.

Subscribers will please note that publications announced as nearly ready are often delayed by some cause for which the Secretary is not responsible. There has been, for instance, a great deal of delay about the Catalogue of Photographs. This is now ready. And about the List of Old Testament Names. This is also now ready. And about the New Testament Names. This list is in the printer's hands. And about the Index of the "Survey." This now wants only the Hebrew portion, which is daily expected.

The same remarks apply to the Pilgrim's Text Society. Two works are in the press and almost ready. We hope to be more expeditious in our productions this year.

The "Memoirs of Twenty-One Years' Work" is now in its third thousand. Subscribers *are earnestly requested to use this book as a means of showing what the work has been, and what remains to be done.* Copies are given to every subscriber who wishes to have one, and additional copies can be procured at a great reduction in the price, *by subscribers only*, by writing to the central office.

Will all the subscribers to the Palestine Fund remember—(1) that it helps the Committee very much if subscriptions are paid early in the year? (2) Next, that it saves a great deal of trouble if they are paid to Coutts & Co. direct by a Banker's order? and (3) That whenever they are due it saves a great deal of labour if they are paid without waiting for a reminder? The clerical staff of

the Society is very small, and it is greatly desired not to increase the management expenses, and not to overburden the work of the office.

The following books are now published uniform in size and appearance :— Conder's "Tent Work;" Conder's "Heth and Moab;" Schumacher's "Across the Jordan;" "The Memoirs of Twenty-One Years' Work;" Conder's "Syrian Stone Lore." Subscribers can have the whole set, together with Hull's "Mount Seir," for 25*s.* carriage free.

Mr. Armstrong has prepared a list of the photographs belonging to the Society arranged alphabetically according to those Bible names which are illustrated by views. This list is now ready. Those who wish for a copy may send in their names.

The long-promised List of Old Testament Names, with their identifications, is now ready.

The income of the Society, from September 13th to December 22nd, 1887, inclusive, was—from subscriptions and donations, £461 10*s.* 0*d.*; from all sources, £498 5*s.* 11*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £415 4*s.* 4*d.* On December 22nd the balance in the Banks was £315 12*s.* 10*d.*

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

The only authorised lecturers for the Society are—

(1) Mr. George St. Clair, F.G.S., who has lately returned from his Eastern tour, and is giving Lectures for the Society in all parts of Great Britain. His subjects are—
   (1) *The Buried City of Jerusalem*, and General Exploration of the Holy Land. Numerous diagrams.
   (2) *Buried Cities of the East.* Numerous diagrams.
   (3) *Sight-seeing in Palestine.* Lantern views, where local help can be obtained.

   Address: G. St. Clair, Bristol Road, Birmingham; or at the Office of the Fund.

(2) The Rev. Henry Geary, Vicar of St. Thomas's, Portman Square. His lectures are on the following subjects :—
   The Survey of Western Palestine, as illustrating Bible History.
   Palestine East of the Jordan.
   The Jerusalem Excavations.
   A Restoration of Ancient Jerusalem. Illustrated by original photographs shown as "dissolving views."

(3) The Rev. James King, Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick. His subjects are as follows :—
   The Survey of Western Palestine.
   Jerusalem.
   The Hittites.
   The Moabite Stone and other monuments.

(4) The Rev. James Neil, formerly Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem.

THE SARCOPHAGI OF SIDON.

THE chief portion of the following appeared in the "The Times" of December 8th, 1887 :—

During a recent visit to Constantinople I was enabled, by the kind introduction of friends, and by a letter from the keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities at the British Museum, to obtain interviews with his Highness Edhem Pasha (late Grand Vizier), and with his Excellency Hamdi Bey. They received me with great kindness and courtesy, showed to me numerous and very beautiful photographs of the sarcophagi, and explained to me such details of the colouring, &c., as could not be there shown.

One of the interviews with Hamdi Bey was at the Museum, where some of the sarcophagi are placed, uncovered, and I could, therefore, see the style of carving of their decorations, which is in an absolutely perfect state.

Of the remainder, and of the sculpture and painting, I can judge only by the photographs and the descriptions given by his Excellency Hamdi Bey personally to myself, and which are to a large extent in his own words. They may form useful addenda to the very admirable account given in the last *Quarterly Statement*, and also to Hamdi Bey's own description in the last number of the "Revue Archéologique." I did not see these until after my return to London. The shaft was about 16 feet by 13 feet, and 50 feet deep to the floor of the tomb at its base. In chambers leading out of it, of which he gives plans and sections in the "Revue," were found the following :.

Three Phœnician anthropoid sarcophagi, two of these being in white marble (one male and the other female), and the third in black marble (female).

Seven sarcophagi of Greek design of different epochs, carved out of Greek marble blocks.

Three of these are similar, and are simply in the form of pedestals, without any figure sculpture, but with beautifully moulded and enriched cornices and bases, which much resemble those of the sarcophagus in the British Museum brought from Crete, and numbered 44*a*. The covers are coped, and with pediments and acroteria. The fourth is of the peculiar tall Lycian form, surmounted by a curved roof with gables, of which we have two good examples in the British Museum. But, in place of the usual panels in and beneath the gables, the Sidon tomb has sphinxes and other sculptures, which are purely Greek. (It is to be noted that although the Lycian tombs at the British Museum have the usual panels, there are carved in them winged sphinxes of the well-known Greek form, some sitting and others recumbent.) On one of the long sides there are splendidly sculptured two cars with four horses each in full career. On the other side is a hunting scene. The fifth sarcophagus (not in the Lycian form) is equally well sculptured with Assyrian subjects.

The sixth represents a Greek Ionic temple in antis, but with three-

quarter columns only between the two antæ, and three-quarter columns to the sides. Between each two columns or antæ is a female figure showing signs of deep affliction. In all there are eighteen of these statues. The temple rests on a stylobate, having a finely moulded base and surbase, the dado being enriched with figures, partly sculptured and partly painted. The cover represents the roof of a temple, and in the pediment at each end is a fine group of sculpture. As a curious variation from the temple form, there is along each side, surmounting the cornice, a tablet, on which is carved a funeral procession. Such a decorative feature is not unusual in sarcophagi of late date, one such being in the British Museum, and many in the Louvre ; but they are usually without any mouldings, and I can call to mind no example of such a feature surmounting the cymatium in any temple.

All the above sarcophagi show large remains of coloured decoration, and, as described to me, confirm Hittorff's theories as given in his work on Sicily.

The seventh sarcophagus is the grandest of all. It is out of one block of white marble, about 11 feet long, with a coped and pedimented cover, and having no columnar decoration, but with an enriched cornice and base, the panels between these, on each side, being filled with sculptures of marvellously fine execution. On two of the sides the subject is the chase ; on the other two are represented combats between warriors both on horse and foot. One prominent figure reminded Hamdi Bey of that of Darius in the famous mosaic from Pompeii (and having seen this recently I quite agree with him), and certain characteristics on another of the principal figures induces him to assign it to Alexander.

In any case, there can scarcely be a doubt that the sculptures represent a battle between Greeks and Persians, and most probably between Darius and Alexander. The cover of this magnificent tomb is of the ordinary coped form, but is enriched with rows of heads on the eaves line and on the ridge—a very unusual style of finish, but which may be seen partly carried out on a small scale on one of the Greek sarcophagi figured in Sir C. Fellows's "Asia Minor." At each end of the eaves is a lion. This also reminds one of the lions' heads and fore paws sculptured in the roof of another Lycian tomb figured in the same work, and as may be seen in the tomb (No. 1) in the British Museum.

The architectural details of all these sarcophagi, so far as I can judge from those which I saw and from the photographs of the others, are of the Greek type of the best period, without a trace of Roman influence, and the sculpture appears to be of the highest class. It is altogether different from the bold style of the Pergamus sculpture, and much more nearly resembles the beautifully delicate carving of the Parthenon frieze, of which the horses, the figures, and the drapery of the Sidon monument strongly remind one.

Hamdi Bey thinks that it is probably by Lysippus or his school ; but as to this only some one specially qualified by a study of ancient examples (and such a one no doubt he will consult) could give a definite opinion.

He will have to determine, to begin with, whether the sculpture is the product of an artist accustomed to work in marble, or whether it is not that of one accustomed to work in bronze. I can only venture to suggest, from certain details, that the latter is the case.

But it is not only by the sculpture that this monument has been adorned. It has been so, in the most careful and artistic way, with colouring, which was (and I trust still is) in a perfect state of preservation, and producing a charming effect, each of the different reds, purples, violets &c., being put on in various tints and gradations with great delicacy, gold being sparingly applied and with great judgment. The spears, &c., are of bronze. The flesh of the figures is not coloured.

To show the care which has been taken with this decoration, I may mention that the portions of marble which have been left untinted have been treated in three different ways—viz., (1) by the ordinary finish, (2) by being slightly roughened, and (3) by an exquisitely finished surface such as one finds in the finest Greek sculpture. The reader will, no doubt, have noticed the striking differenee between the subjects of these sculptures and those on the grand Greco-Roman sarcophagi, which are so numerous in our Museum. I am fairly well acquainted with those in the Louvre and Vatican collections, and can say that, almost without exception, the sculptures on these (often beautiful) monuments represent mythological scenes. But the Lycian tombs, judging from the engravings in Sir C. Fellows's work, have often such realistic scenes of battle, hunting, and procession as are above described on the Sidon monuments.

As to the date of all these works, except the well-known Phœnician sarcophagus (to which I allude below), there is no guide whatever beyond what the sculptures tell. The absence of any inscription is not surprising, inasmuch as very few of the sculptured sarcophagi (chiefly Græco-Roman) left to us are inscribed, and I have Hamdi Bey's authority for saying that there is not a line, not a word, which could give a clue to the date, nor anything definite as to the persons for whom these splendidly adorned tombs were made.

How was it that a great sepulchre should have been hewn 50 feet deep in the solid rock, chambers carved out from it, these immense blocks of the finest marble brought from Greece, carved by the best Greek sculptors, painted (it would seem) by the best Greek artists, and then lowered into their resting-places in times of no great antiquity, and yet not a single record of any kind be left to give a clue to the names of those for whom such great works were done? Possibly in the careful study which Hamdi Bey is giving to the subject this question may receive an answer.

It will be months before the sarcophagi can be seen by any one, as it would be highly dangerous to expose them, however slightly, to the dust and damp of a Constantinople winter, as would be the case if they were uncovered before being placed in the building now being erected for their reception, and in which it is proposed to enclose them in glass cases as has been done with the Archaic statues recently found in the Acropolis at Athens. To preserve their colouring during their removal from Sidon

the greatest care had to be taken. The workmen were required to wear gloves, and the sculptures were protected by having cotton wool stuffed behind them most carefully and round them. This was done by Hamdi Bey himself, the whole then being covered by layer upon layer of soft material.

The last sarcophagus to which I shall allude is the famous one of the Priest and King Tabnite, the account of which occupies a large portion of Hamdi Bey's article in the last "Revue Archéologique." It is of black marble, the inscription on it showing it to have been the tomb of the son of Esmunazar, King of Sidon (I give the name as spelt on the tablet in the Louvre). But Tabnite's tomb differs in many important particulars from that of his father. Both are anthropoid, but Esmunazar's, of which we have a copy in the British Museum, shows the human form only in the head and shoulders, the lines of the sarcophagus being carved thence straight down in a tapering form to the raised tablet which marks the position of the feet. This is the case also with 10 out of the 11 other sarcophagi in the Louvre brought from Sidon, and in the only one (I believe) in the British Museum brought from the same site. But Tabnite's tomb has the flowing lines which may be seen in the numerous Egyptian anthropoid sarcophagi which are in the same collection and in our own Museum, and which give to some extent the outlines of the figures. One corner of this tomb has been cut off, thus giving it an irregular shape, and this part has been polished, and a band of Egyptian hieroglyphs, which passes round the block, is carved round this polished corner.

We can scarcely suppose that a king who could afford to have so splendid a tomb made for him would accept an imperfect block of marble for it, and it seems likely, therefore, that it was made originally for another person in ancient times in Egypt, and repaired and re-used at a later period for Tabnite.

The descriptions and drawings of this interesting tomb will form one of the most attractive chapters in the detailed and illustrated account of the Sidon monuments which Hamdi Bey is now preparing for publication. I should much liked to have given sketches of many of these sarcophagi, and I pointed out to his Excellency that by such rough memoranda the curiosity of the artistic world would be much more excited than by any description in writing, and that it would be a good preliminary announcement of his forthcoming book ; but his particular wish, to which I, of course, yielded, is that he himself should be the first person to publish any drawings whatever of these splendid monuments ; and considering the amount of care which he took in their preservation, every one will be glad to concede to him the full honour and credit of first conveying the description of them to the public in an authentic form. No doubt it would have been better to have retained them on their ancient site, if they could have been so retained with safety. But my experience in the East makes me confident that such a course would have resulted in the eventual destruction of these splendid monuments by Moslem fanatics and Arab dealers.

Athenæum Club. T. Hayter Lewis.

ACCOUNT OF A ROYAL NECROPOLIS DISCOVERED AT SAIDA BY HAMDI BEY.

(From the Revue Archéologique).

I ARRIVED at Smyrna, on April 20th, 1887, with the object of taking part with my friend and colleague, Demosthenes Bey-Baltazzi, in the Archæological Mission that had been entrusted to us. It was necessary that we should proceed to Saida to study a valuable necropolis recently discovered, and to draw up from its deep vaults the series of sarcophagi which are about to be described. On reaching Saida (April 30th) we immediately repaired to the ground ; and I descended by means of a rope to the bottom of the large shaft which gave access to the large vaults containing the sarcophagi. This shaft, sunk through a thick layer of limestone, was 13 metres in depth. I visited the vaults, which were seven in number, in succession, and was struck by the value, beauty, and variety of the marble sarcophagi found therein. Out of the seventeen sarcophagi nine were covered with very beautiful many-coloured sculpture.

On the following day we made every effort to proceed with the work of extraction without hindrance ; but this was anything but easy, the largest of them measuring 3m. 30 long and weighing nearly 15 tons.

With the friendly help of Sakeh Bey, Governor of Saida, who placed everything we required at our disposal, and the intelligent co-operation of Beshara-Effendi, chief engineer of the vilayet, a tunnel with a drop of 12 per cent. was bored, and all the sarcophagi were drawn out without any accident. The whole work occupied twenty-five days. This valuable necropolis is to be the subject of a detailed monograph. One part of the contents is on the eve of being sent to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. A second necropolis was discovered by us. With the object of elucidating the description which I am about to make, I add to this memoir a plan and a general plan of both these monuments, which are placed together (see pp. 140 and 141).

At the north-west angle of the vault V of the first necropolis, and above the No. 10 sarcophagus (see plan), we perceived an irregular hole, which hardly admitted of the entrance of a man. As I wanted to know what it could be and where it might end, I had a ladder brought and was easily able to reach it, and to get halfway into it so that I could well examine the interior by the light of a lamp. I easily recognised a Phœnician tomb, which had been despoiled by the violators of the necropolis, by means of this little hole which they had made.

These greedy plunderers struck the walls of the vaults with an iron, and wherever they heard a hollow sound they divined the existence of a tomb or vault on the other side, which they proceeded forthwith to open. This one was entirely empty, but prior to our arrival at Saida some fragments of shapeless bronze had been found.

The question naturally presented itself as to which way the tomb had been dug and from whence the dead, whose bones I there saw, had been introduced. On entering I examined the upper part and was able to see and count five large slabs which closed it above and which were placed transversely on the tomb.

I communicated my observations to my friend Baltazzi-Bey, and we decided on May 22nd to open a shaft in such a way as to fall directly upon these slabs.

The next day, after having cleared away 1m. 20 of vegetable soil, we came upon limestone grit, then making our workmen proceed 2 metres further towards the north we continued to excavate, and on the 24th we could recognise the four walls of a large rectangular shaft bearing marks of a pick-axe.

The large sides from south to north measured 4 metres, the little sides 3m. 20; it must be mentioned that the walls of this well were hewn with care. It went down across a layer of very friable limestone grit, and was full of rubbish of the same sort, occasionally mixed with vegetable soil, the workmen found placed in a hollow in the side of the shaft a lamp in the form of a splayed and twisted patera, and resembling those which M. Renan had collected at Saida, and which, according to M. de Saulcy, have been likewise met with in the tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem. At a depth of 5 metres we perceived the upper layers of a wall on the side looking north (see plan); evidently we had here a wall forming the entrance to a vault, and we were happy to find that it was perfectly intact.

0m. 50 lower, on the opposite wall, the upper part of a vault appeared, being precisely the one where the desecrated tomb was found. It was not walled, and we could see it was literally crammed with rubbish of the same nature as that which filled the well. The same day other lamps similar to the former one were found.

By May 28th we reached, at a depth of 7m. 50, the bottom of the well; here the layer of limestone grit (called in this country *ramle*) ended, and hard limestone appeared.

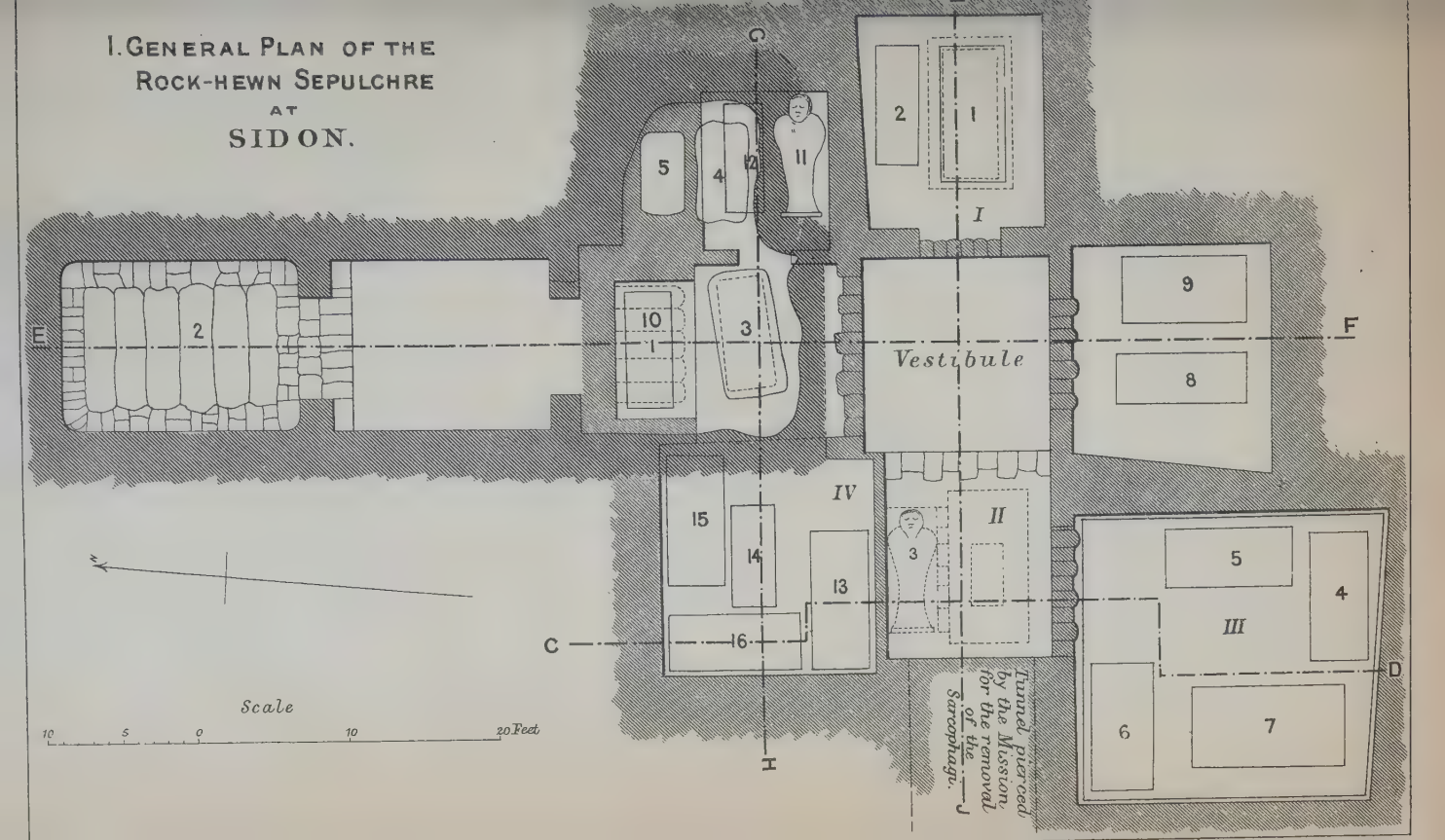
On the 29th, at an early hour, I descended into the shaft, accompanied by Beshara-Effendi, and some workmen; and I had a breach made in this intact wall by withdrawing some rows.

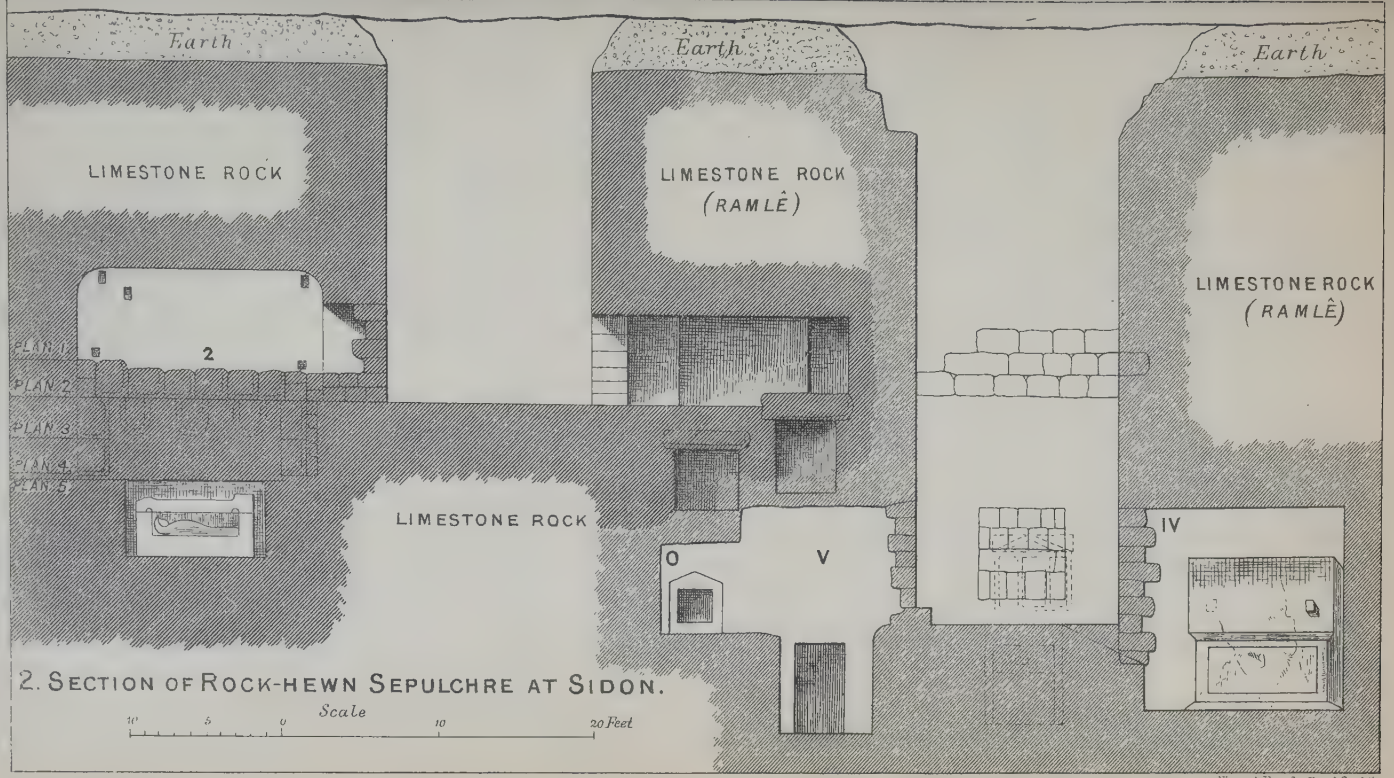
Then, by means of a magnesium lamp I saw that this vault did not contain any sarcophagus, that the ceiling was vaulted, and that it, as well as the walls, was faced with a thick plastering, which plastering had in great part fallen and completely covered the floor.

I also noticed on the walls of the vault large holes, which had been symmetrically bored at intervals, and which were intended for the reception of immense beams, by which, by means of ropes which were fastened on to them, sarcophagi or blocks of stone of immense size could be let down.

At the outset, therefore, I had reason to hope that once the vault was clear we should find slabs, and under the slabs some sarcophagi.

I. General Plan of the Rock-hewn Sepulchre at SIDON.





2. SECTION OF ROCK-HEWN SEPULCHRE AT SIDON.

Scale

10 5 0 10 20 Feet

Vincent Brooks Day & Son lith

I had the door entirely freed from the wall, which blocked it up, and set the workmen to clear the vault.

The vault measured 4m. 60 by 3m. 40.

It was then that we discovered, in the north-west angle, two bronze candelabra and some terra cotta lamps, which were similar to the preceding ones, and which had been thrown down by the fall of the plastering off the walls and ceiling.

This plastering occasionally reached a thickness of 0m. 20, and was covered over with a thin gray-blue coating.

The candelabra are in good preservation, and have a fine patina ; they are not of equal height. The largest measures 1m. 70, and the other 1m. 55. They are each composed of three parts, and were bound together by a stick running inside the stem ; this wood has completely perished.

The vault being now clear of its incumbrances, I saw that it was paved with six immense blocks in a transverse direction of its length.

(Page 144, plan 1.)—These slabs were of limestone grit, and of different widths, varying from 0m. 50 to 0m. 80, with a length of 2m. 60.

The last at the further end of the vault was varied 0m. 18 above the others, and formed a sort of bench.

In removing the small hewn stones which edged the four sides, I ascertained that they were 0m. 65 thick, and themselves rested on other blocks placed in a reverse direction.

It took more than a day to break up and remove this first row of slabs.

In arrangement, the second row was quite different to the first. It consisted of an immense rectangular slab, placed in the middle of the vault, measuring 3m. 62 by 1m. 80, with a border of six slabs ; these latter did not extend to the wall from which the plaster continued to fall (page 144, plan 2).

In removing the six blocks which served as a border, I was most astonished to find below a third layer, and to note that the middle piece reached still lower than this latter (page 144, plan 3).

The following day I had this third and last row of bordering removed, and the vault then contained nothing more than an immense rectangular monolith, with a length of 3m. 42, width of 1m. 70, and thickness of 1m. 60, cubing 9m. 30 (page 144, plan 4).

The monolith occupied the centre of the vault in its longitudinal direction.

It bore on the upper part of its thickness eight horse-shoe shaped grooves : three on each of its large sides, and one on the small one ; the grooves were 0m. 12 in width, and of an equal depth. They had served to hold the cables used for letting down this colossal lid, at first to the bottom of the shaft, and afterwards into the vault.

It was perfectly obvious, from the grain of the stone, that this large block, as well as all the slabs surrounding it, had been brought from elsewhere.

The lid now being clear on every side, we had two lifting-jacks brought, and, setting them in action simultaneously, managed to lift it

on one side from 0m. 10 to 0m. 15, and it was only then that I was able to perceive, by means of a jet of magnesium light, that this monolith concealed a magnificent black marble sarcophagus, anthropoid in shape, admirably preserved and covered with inscriptions. It was only the day after the 30th of May that I began to have this monolith sliced off horizontally, so as to reduce two-thirds of its thickness, in order to be able to lift it and turn it up against the wall of the vault, so as to allow of the passage of the fine sarcophagus. This operation ended, we could finally examine at our leisure this almost unique and in every respect remarkable object.

Eleven lines of hieroglyphic writing in longitudinal lines covered the base of the lid, starting from the large collar, which ended in a large winged globe, having on its left and right other hieroglyphic signs. A Phœnician inscription, carefully engraved, covered in its turn the horizontal portion of the legs.[1] This inscription occupied seven and a half lines. As in the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, the collar is fastened to the shoulders by two hawks' heads.

Here are the respective measurements of the lid :—

Length from head to foot	2m. 30
Width of shoulders....	1m. 10
Width of feet	0m. 80
Thickness of feet	0m. 40
Length of hieroglyphic lines	0m. 70
Width „ „	0m. 10
Length of Phœnician inscription	0m. 57

A circle of hieroglyphic writing runs outside the circumference of the sarcophagus, and is of the same form as that of the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar.

The trench in which this precious object was deposited is admirably hewn, peculiar care having been devoted to this result.

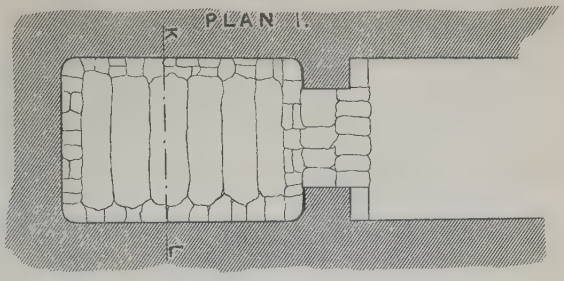
The edges and sides are remarkably clearly cut ; a parallelopiped 2m. 60 by 1m. 20 by 1m. 50 deep. They had not forgotten to take the centre of each of the small sides by marking it with a red arrow before placing the sarcophagi exactly on the longitudinal axis. On the shoulder side it nearly touched the walls ; and they had further filled in the small space that remained all round with small stones and a sort of mortar. All this rendered the opening and extraction of the sarcophagus very difficult. We, however, succeeded in doing this without any abrasion or mark resulting therefrom.

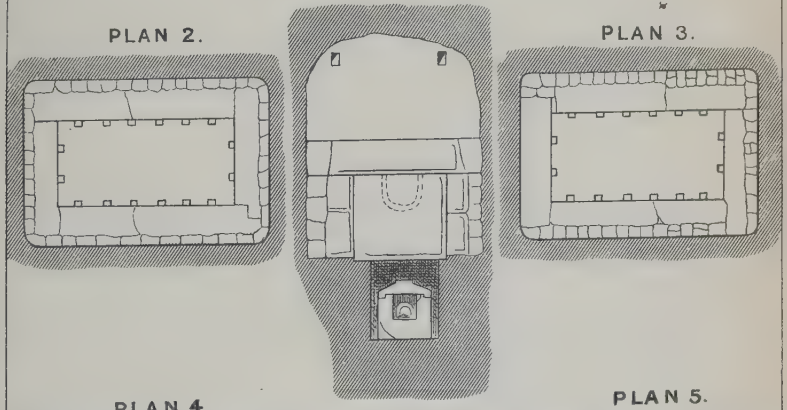
We first raised the lid, which we immediately placed in a temporary box until a passage should be prepared for it across the opposite vault and the violated tomb, No. 1 (p. 141), which the workmen were already clearing out.

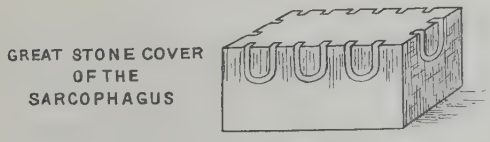
The sarcophagus contained the body of a man in fairly good preserva-

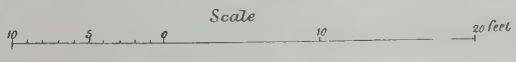
[1] This is the inscription whose translation was given in the last number of the *Quarterly Statement*.

3. Plans and Section of the Sepulchre.









Vincent Brooks Day & Son lith.

tion. In the entire upper part, emerging from a yellowish mud which filled the bottom of the sarcophagus, the flesh had disappeared. The breast was staved in ; the sternum and the toes and fingers had disappeared. A fillet in very thin gold leaf, 0m. 20 long, was on the left clavicle. I had the body brought out, stretched upon a plank, and carried outside. Murad Effendi, the municipal doctor at Saida, charged himself with cleansing it, and putting it into a condition to allow of it being conveyed to Constantinople. All the muscles of the posterior parts are perfectly preserved, as well as the interior organs of the thorax and abdomen. The corpse was laid on a slightly concave plank, which occupied the bottom of the sarcophagus, and assumed its shape. This plank, in complete preservation, is of sycamore wood, and is 1m. 84 long, 0m. 32 wide, on the side of the head, and 0m. 21 on the side of the feet. It was furnished on every side with six silver rings, one of which still remains on the plank. They were fastened with nails, the points of which, after passing right through, were forced back by the blow of a hammer.

They fastened the corpse from head to foot firmly along this plank, upon which very distinct traces that the ropes have left are to be seen near the rings.

In another large anthropoid and perfectly preserved sarcophagus, which was given us to open, we likewise found the body extended on a plank of similar shape, but instead of rings they had been content to simply make holes with which to keep the body in place. I must mention that we found in a third sarcophagus, which was anthropoid and of white marble, the same kind of plank bearing bronze rings fixed in the same manner. In several other Phœnician tombs we collected from round the corpse, which was completely destroyed by the damp, numerous fragments of fillets. The Phœnicians, following in this the Egyptian fashion, endeavoured to mummify their dead, but they carried out this operation very badly.

In the tomb in question we did not find any trace of bandelets. It would appear, therefore, that the body was simply embalmed. I ought to add that in this sarcophagus we noticed the existence of a certain quantity of very fine sand, which we had likewise found in the three other anthropoid sarcophagi which had been given us to open previous to this.

Whilst we were occupying ourselves in extricating this fine royal sarcophagus from the deep trench in which it was found, several of our workmen had already cleared the vault from the south ; we were then able to immediately open the second tomb. It was exceedingly badly constructed, and altogether similar to the one that the violators of the other necropolis had ravaged. In this tomb—the body as well as the plank to which it was attached had entirely disappeared—we collected the following objects :—

1 fillet of gold leaf.
1 gold collar.
2 gold bracelets.

2 gold symbolic eyes.
13 gold beads.
1 bracelet ornamented with coloured stones, with a catseye in the centre.
1 onyx cylinder, one end of which has a golden cage.
13 cornelian beads.
1 symbolic eye in cornelian.
7 small beads in blue enamel.
2 large silver *halkals*.
1 silver pin, the tip of which bears the head of a serpent.
1 smaller silver pin.
1 broken silver box.
12 slender silver rings.
1 bronze mirror, joined by wrists.
Different ivory objects (broken).
7 bronze rings, belonging to the plank on which they had stretched and fastened the body.

The two tombs, No. 4 and No. 5 (p. 140), had neither slabs nor covers. The trenches were simply covered with earth and stones, nearly to the arch of the vault, and the entrance of this latter was walled. Except some fragments of bones which crumbled into dust directly they were touched, we found nothing. The southern vault, as well as the tombs which it contained, were of very defective workmanship. The piece of ground on which these tombs were discovered, is found in the plain below *Hilaleh*, between the aqueduct and the gardens. These latter, which border it, are called Bostan-el-Mazara (garden of the grottos). In fact, the entrance to two grottos running from west to east and uniting beneath our ground can be seen.

The ground is known by the name of Ayaa ; this word is not Arabian. I was informed that the inhabitants of Meppo speak of a legendary Jewish queen who was called Ayaa.

Thus, a woman who gives herself airs in walking is said to walk like Ayaa.

I noticed here that in speaking Arabic they replace the letter caph by ain. Accordingly, instead of Kaleh, Kassir, Karib, they say Aaleh, Aassir, and Aarib. Assuming then the same corruption in the word Ayaa, we must seek to discover whether Kayaa has an Arabic signification. The ground plot of the necropolis is found 34 metres above the level of the sea, and is 1,250 metres distant from the same.

With the exception of tomb No. 1, which had been ravaged by the violators of the great necropolis, all the others had happily escaped the greed of the desecrators of the burial places. I must state, to my great regret, that these to-day are no less terrible than those of preceding ages. The same rapacity and vandalism continue their work of destruction, and, what is the more distressing, is that the so-called Europeans, representing certain great Powers at Saida, in their own interests and the most mer-

cenary spirit, head these devastations. We are assured that, not content with this clandestine speculation, they patronize a manufactory for articles of antiquity and false inscriptions, which is in a village in the outskirts of Saida. But in the interests of science, and so that archæological explorers should no longer be liable to be duped by them, I did not fail to take the most severe administrative measures in order that this deplorable state of things might be stopped. Finally, I must add that, in spite of Saida and other surrounding country having been ransacked, there still remain treasures to be discovered.

Beirût, June 29th, 1887.

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

I.

In the October number of the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 197, appears the following:—"Among other points he [Mr. Schick] shows that Dr. Merrill was misled when he stated that a rock scarp existed there."

This positive assertion of the Editor does me great injustice. In the first place I never stated that "a rock scarp existed there;" secondly, I have always maintained that *no rock scarp* existed there; thirdly, I can say, without boasting, that at the time I took more interest in this second-wall matter than any other European or foreigner. I was there every day, and frequently three or four times a day. I reported only what I saw and measured.

About 25 feet west from the line of the second wall there was a scarped wall from 10 to 15 feet in height; its top was 4 feet out of line with a vertical line drawn from the base of the same wall. What this had to do with the second wall I do not know. I never said that it had, or that it had not, anything to do with it. I mentioned and described simply a fact and never expressed any theory about it. The stones were faced like those of some large fine building. They were smaller than those in the scarped wall at the base of the present Tower of David. It may have been the wall of a building that in some general ruin inclined in towards the city, the bottom remaining in its original position. Among the ruins East of the Jordan I have seen walls perfectly intact but inclined as I have described this underground wall in Jerusalem to have been. Whatever may be the explanation of the existence of this wall at this point, I should describe it as "a scarped wall." Curiously enough, between this wall and the second wall there were no ruins, stones, &c., at least nothing that could be described as ruins, only *débris* of earth.

II.

At the bottom of p. 219, Mr. Schick says:—"Dr. Merrill has, it appears, written what he was told by the masons;" and on p. 220, "the

chief mason . . . . told Dr. Merrill so, telling him what he wished to know."

If what is implied in the second of these two quotations were true, I should be unworthy to be reckoned among Palestine explorers. To do as therein implied would be to act in direct opposition to the rule that I have always conscientiously followed.

But as to the fact—I never had any conversation with any of the masons. The person whom Mr. Schick calls the "architect" (p. 220) I call, or have called, the "engineer;" with him I conversed. We never mentioned "scarp"—scarped rock or scarped wall. He made a plan of the building for me, on which is located the line of the second wall as he found it. This does not correspond with the line of the wall as it appears on Mr. Schick's plan (p. 217). The society to whom I gave a copy of that plan ought, for the sake of the truth, to publish it.

On Mr. Schick's plan there is an elbow in the eastern wall of the new building just opposite the street which runs in an easterly direction, and he makes the line of the second wall to run east and entirely free of that elbow. On the contrary, I am certain that the wall ran on the inside, that is, the western side of that elbow. It is so on the engineer's plan. Furthermore, the second wall actually appeared on the street leading north-west from that elbow, and at a point some yards distant from it. On Mr. Schick's plan it stops short of that elbow. Again, when workmen were excavating the street in front of Frutiger's bank for the purpose of laying a pavement, they were suddenly stopped, because they found that they had run into a large cistern, which belonged to that house occupied by the Sisters of Joseph. They were compelled, after a protest had been made, to fill up the street again. Considering how narrow that street is, and how wide the foundations of the second wall are, the wall, running where Mr. Schick places it, would interfere with the cistern; in other words, the second wall and the cistern cannot both occupy that space. Mr. Schick has made the north end of the wall run too far east, and, moreover, he has not shown so much length of wall as actually appeared, proved by my own measurements. These facts I am confident of. I am showing no discourtesy to Mr. Schick when I state what he himself freely admits, namely, that he has a theory to maintain, which is that the Holy Sepulchre is the true site of Calvary, and in order to save this theory the second wall must bend eastward from the elbow referred to. Personally I have no theory to maintain, and all that I am insisting on at present is that the remains of the second wall should be located where I actually saw them, and that as much length of it should be represented as actually appeared.

Selah Merrill.

Andover, Mass., U.S.A.

Editor's Note.—The plan referred to has been sent back to Dr. Merrill, and if he still desires it shall be published in the April *Quarterly Statement.*

THE BYZANTINE PAVEMENT NEAR THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

JERUSALEM, *October*, 1887.

I. IN the year 1860, amongst the many Christians killed at Damascus and the Lebanon, there were a number of Roman Catholics and their churches, convents, and houses destroyed by the fanatical Moslems. France, the Western Power protecting the Christians, especially those of the Roman Catholic creed, demanded compensation. It was proposed by the Ottoman Port to give in exchange the so-called "Khankeh" at Jerusalem to the Catholics, for those destroyed at Damascus by the Moslems.

An order, therefore, came to Jerusalem, that the Governor should not only report at full length on the matter, but should also send exact drawings, or a model of the subject, and it came to pass, that I had to make this requested Model of the Khankeh, and its connection with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was done in wood, and on the scale of $\frac{1}{100}$, and when finished, a document had to be drawn up signed by all the Patriarchs interested in the question, to state that the model was an exact one. In different colours the different proprietorships of all the parts were marked. The model, by the high assembly summoned before the Governor, was found correct, but, as only one side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was represented by it, that in which the Roman Catholics have their share, the Greek Patriarch found that the model was too much in favour of this party, and demanded that the other side, belonging to the Greeks, should also be shown. In consequence, a new and larger model was made, comprehending the whole church, and all connections round about it, with the streets. It was a long and difficult work, lasting for many months, but came out to the satisfaction of all. In the course of this work, I had to examine and measure every thing and in detail, and so I found that south-east of the Church there was an ancient "sook" or market, walled up and no more in use, except four larger rooms (vaults) used by Moslems as a turnery—ending (at the west) by a flight of steps leading up to their roofs and further on to the Greek Convent St. Abraham, to an upper story. A few years ago all this was broken down, and a new large building erected on the place.

East of this, there was a piece of ground, embraced by walls and filled up with earth of about 15 feet high, above the street. This was bought by the Russian Government in the year 1862. A larger piece north of it they had already bought in the year 1859, covered with a high hill of earth which became removed and found that there are ruins underneath, and left so for many years. But a visit of the Grand Duke Sergius had the effect that this place (the first one bought) was cleared and searched through very thoroughly, and as I had been requested to oversee the work and report

upon it I have done so. Report and drawings were then published in Russian, but afterwards also in the German language by the German Palestine Exploration Society ("Zeitschrift," 1885, page 245, and following).

The first mentioned piece of land, bought in 1862, was left at this time untouched, the reason for which I do not know. But during this year, 1887, it has been cleared, and ruins have been found, of which I sent a plan to the English Palestine Exploration Fund at the end of March.

Recently these ruins were demolished and cleared away, in order to erect a new building of some ecclesiastical sort. By this clearing a pavement was found of very large, flat, and about 1-foot thick stones, just as it was found in the more northern part, extending on the same level southwards as far as the ruins which were done away, forming one court, all in the same level, about 2,470 feet above the Mediterranean. It was also found that the ruins were in ancient times shops, and that their walls, without any foundations, simply built on the mentioned pavement. So the pavement is not only much older than these shops were, but proves to have been here once a larger free and open place—a "forum," as I have it stated in my report to St. Petersburg, 1883; but I was at that time not aware that it extended so far south.

On looking at the last removed ruins, and the plans of them, comparing the latter with the plan of the shut-up market I mentioned above, and putting both together on an equal scale I found there had been two market-streets, and I thought it to be my duty to preserve the knowledge of them: I therefore send a copy to the Palestine Exploration Fund, and have to remark that what is dark shaded no more exists (on the larger western part a new building of three stories high stands, and on the eastern a smaller one; also a new building will be erected as already stated, according to the painted line in red ink).

As the ruins were not yet cleared, but full of earth, when the Greeks made their new building some parts of it came to stand over the property of the Russians below; and then, when the ruins were removed, the two upper stories of the Greek building at this place were in danger of tumbling down, so they propped it up with very large beams, and the Russians have left the arch on which the whole corner rests until the new masonry shall have been made up, and then no danger of falling will exist.

II. According to the "Assise de Jerusalem," by Count Beugnot (II., p. 531 ffy.), there were in the thirteenth century several Market-streets in Jerusalem, viz., the "three streets" crossing the David's-street, and the one of Herbs going southward to the street of Mount Zion and the gate of Zion; another one to the arch of Judas. But besides these three, it is said that, when one is coming towards them from the north, one comes to the arched market (la Rue Couverte) on the right hand, going to the Monastery (not the Church) of the Holy Sepulchre. In this street the Syrians sold cloth.

likely in Hadrian's, or more probably in Constantine's, time, when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built.

Now the well is full of silt, as it seems, for centuries never cleansed, and always dirty water from the streets, and even worse places, is running in. On my asking the proprietor of it—the Greek Archimandrite or Captain of the Church of Holy Sepulchre — why it could not be cleaned, he said : "It would cost too much—a very high sum—we must wait for a later time."

The new building opposite—in south—is going on, of which I will report in due time

As far as I know, there exists no other plan of the ancient and now removed market except the one I send you to-day made by me.

C. S.

JERUSALEM.

October 26th, 1887.

1. In the adjoining, I send you a plan of an ancient market at Jerusalem, during my stay in Jerusalem—broken away—which, I think, may have some interest in studying the town in the Christian area. In the accompanying Notes I have tried to give explanations, and what else I found necessary to remark. When on both sides the new houses are done—if I am still alive—then I will send you a general plan of the entire neighbourhood ; to-day I could do it only very imperfectly.

2. I am glad to be in a situation to report that I have got permission to dig in the ground of the Dominicans, near Jeremiah's Grotto, and to follow up the aqueduct. But am sorry to say the work goes rather slowly, and is more expensive than I suggested, as I find the aqueduct was filled up on purpose by the Crusaders, who used large stones for it instead of earth, and have removed the flagging stones on the top, so there is no empty parts, but all full, and often there are found larger stones, which must be broken in pieces. We traced it for about 45 feet ; it does not go in a straight line, but has sharp angles. It is 2 feet 9 inches wide and 16 feet deep, entirely cut through the rock. But what I am suspicious about is the level of its bottom, according to my levelling, about 25 feet higher than the one ending on the town wall. However, I will go further on with the clearing, as, even if it is not the Bîreh Aqueduct as expected, something else of interest may be found. I will use up the money I have in hand, and then send you an account of the expenditure, stating everything in detail.

3. *The Wâdy Yasûl Tomb.*—In my last I have written to you to try to get leave from the Pasha for a proper digging. The owner of the place wished expressly not to do this, and he himself went on to break through the rock from another side, following a cleft in the rock, but it proved that there is no real room or an artificial chamber, but simply a cavity by nature, allowing me, by proper lighting, to ascertain in a fuller

degree the exactness, the size, and form, &c., of the suspected sarcophagus; it proved not to be one at all, but simply a play of nature, the one visible side of which is like a sarcophagus covered with a sloping lid; the other side has nothing of the kind, and forms, with the rest of the rock, one piece, so I find further expense useless. The natives, and the proprietor of the ground, disbelieve this, my statement, and intend to break further in to come nearer to it, which I am sure is useless, and am rather sorry that I have troubled myself and you so much about it, but it is, as when a hunter by going about become weary, and bringing no prey home. The explorer becomes very often disappointed, and is, therefore, the more glad when he finds something.

4. During my long life, and especially since I have been in Jerusalem (1846), I have made not only studies on the topography of this remarkable city, but also on the Temple. In doing so I found that many difficulties cannot be overcome, or the questions answered, as long as one deals only with words and plans; but when a model is made of the state of things the solution is very often easy, and near at hand. So I began to make a model of the Temple, and the mountain on which it stood: but having began, I found it wants such arrangements to show and illustrate the whole history of this remarkable site. After many years' labour, I have so far ended the work that I could show it to travellers, and many of them have seen it, and all have told me that I should write and print the explanation to it, and every one would like to get such one. The writing I have done, and as I know the German language better than the English, I have done it in the same, but found no one undertaking the printing, but became advised to print, on my own account first, the last part—a description of the Haram, or the place of the Temple as it now is.

It was consequently printed here in Jerusalem, and also the pictures made, and the binding; it is now finished, so I take the liberty to send by this post also a copy to your Society, or the Library of the Society, and beg humbly for a favoured acceptance. Some people say it should be translated into English, but I doubt the value of the book for so doing; it will interest only a few people. Very likely the value of it will be recognised after my death, and perhaps my children may then sell the model. I am now about to study the wall of Nehemiah, chap. iii, and to write an architectural history of Jerusalem, of its walls and mode of building, during the many centuries from the beginning in Abraham's time, down till to-day; maps or plans will illustrate it. But I see I have to work a long time—I am now at the time of David and Solomon.

5. The restraints the Turkish Government makes against the Jews coming to Palestine are becoming gradually severe. When coming, they are allowed only to stay one month, and then have to return; when not returning themselves they are sent back by the police, and such desiring to become Turkish subjects could formerly do so without much difficulty, now a very high tax has been imposed.

6. The idea of making a railway to Jaffa has risen up again, and, as it

and the peasants there knew of it for a long time, but considering them as idols kept them buried."

The other one seems to be of much more interest, and is also much larger. As the camera was so very small—the plates only 5½ inches wide and 7 long—it could not be taken in one time, but had to be made in two pieces, Nos. 3 and 4. The stone is about 10 feet long, a little more than 2 feet broad, and about (without the figures) 10 inches thick ; on its bottom, where it forms a pedestal in two sets much thicker, as it will be seen on No. 3. On the pedestal no inscription was found. The kneeling figure Atlas cannot be in full human size—although the Jew told me so—but he said also, his eyes and whole face in an expression at his load (on the shoulder) to be very heavy—the mouth open so that he could put in his four fingers, the left arm injured. His load is a ball or globe, but behind not round but one with the slab on it stands an angel (or genius in full human size, arms and countenance greatly injured—all which is mentioned one and the same stone. So it seems these stones formed once a kind of pilaster in a temple, etc.

The Jew told me, when the figures are taken out he will go down again with a larger camera, and then he hopes to give better photographs. As the matter now stands nothing can be done, and it seems the Pasha is waiting for orders from Constantinople.

No. 5 was tried to take a view from a little of the side, and in one piece it helps only to a little better understanding of the other view (Nos. 3 and 4).

The site on which these figures were found and now lying underground is, according to the description of the young man, inside the ancient town of Askalon, about the middle. As I had no plan at hand when I conversed with him I could not fix the place, but will try to see the place in the Memoirs, and then speak again with the young man about the site—of which I will report in my next.

C. Schick.

PALESTINE ACCORDING TO THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS AND TRAVELLERS.

During the course of the present year, it is hoped to bring out a work containing all the information to be found in the books of the Arab Geographers and Travellers who have written about Palestine and Syria. My original intention was to have limited the translations to Palestine proper, but the boundary line was not easy to fix. Palestine is but a province of Syria in the Muslim administration, and further remembering that the description left us by the Arab geographers of the various cities in the northern province of Syria is of great interest for the Crusading period, of which some of them were contemporaries, I have deemed it advisable to include in my work everything that had to do with Syria (As Shâm), in its widest sense, from Tarsus and Malatia on the north to

Rafh and the Tîh Desert on the south. The eastern and western limits are fixed naturally by the Mediterranean and the great sand-sea of the Arabian desert.

As is well known, the Muslims did not begin to write books till fully two centuries had elapsed after the Era of the Flight; and our earliest geographer (who is, by the way, of Persian nationality) composed his book in the year 250 A.H., or about the middle of the ninth century A.D. From this period, however, down to the end of the fifteenth century of our reckoning, the names of authors follow each other at very short intervals, and we have over a score of writers, all Muslim, and nearly all writing in Arabic, who have undertaken to describe for us the various provinces of Syria and Palestine.

The accompanying list will give an idea of the mass of material that is available. It must, however, be premised, that in every case we have not to do with the result of personal observation and original information. The Arab writers plagiarised each from his predecessor to a very remarkable degree. Each tried to make his work as complete as possible by incorporating therein all he could gather from previous reading, as well as from personal observation when he had himself visited the places described; and this constant plagiarism, though it decreases the amount of fresh information, is very valuable for purposes of comparison, and for rectifying mistakes of copyists and filling in lacunæ.

List of Geographers and Travellers.

		A.D.
1.	Ibn Khurdâdbih, wrote about	864
2.	Belâdhurî .... „	869
3.	Kudamah .... „	880
4.	Ya'kûbi .... „	891
5.	Ibn al Fakîh .... „	903
6.	Ibn 'Abd Rabbih .... „	*circa* 913
7.	Mas'ûdi .... „	943
8.	Istakhrî .... „	951
9.	Ibn Haukal .... „	978
10.	Mukaddasi .... „	985
11.	Nâsiri Khusrau .... „	1052
12.	Idrisi .... „	1154
13.	'Ali of Herat .... „	1173
14.	Ibn Jubair .... „	1185
15.	Yakût .... „	1225
16.	Dimashki .... „	*circa* 1300
17.	Abu 'l Fidâ .... „	1321
18.	Ibn Batûtah .... „	1355
19.	The author of the "Muthir"	1351
20.	Shams ad Dîn Suyûtî „	1470
21.	Mujîr ad Dîn .... „	1496

It may perhaps be interesting to give a cursory note on each of the above mentioned writers, that our readers may have some idea of what manner of men they were, and of the nature of the work each performed.

1. Ibn Khurdâdbih the first name on the list, was, as before noted, a Persian by birth ; as in fact his father's name shows, for *Khurdâd-bih* signifies in old Persian "Good gift of the Sun," or as the Greeks would have said, "Heliodorus." Ibn Khurdâdbih was born about the commencement of the third century of the Hejrah (corresponding to the ninth of our era) and flourished at the court of the Abbaside Caliph Al Mu'tamid at Bagdad. Under his government Ibn Khurdâdbih held the office of Chief of the Post in the province of Jibâl, the ancient Media, and with a view, doubtless, of instructing his subordinates, compiled the Handbook of Routes and Countries which has come down to us as one of the earliest of Muslim geographical treatises.

2. The work of Belâdhurî is of an entirely different order, and only in a very secondary sense geographical. His is the earliest historical account we possess of the "Conquests" of the Muslims. He was born at Bagdâd, and receiving his education there during the days of the great Al Mamûn, lived to enjoy the favour of the Caliphs Al Mutawakkil and Al Musta'in. He wrote his great "Book of the Conquest" about the year 869 A.D., and died in 892. His work is unfortunately almost barren of geographical description, the names of the places only being given and nothing more ; all detail is confined to the ordering of the battles and the accounts of those who took part in the action.

3. Kudâmah, who wrote a small book on the Revenues of the Muslim Empire about the year 880 A.D., was of Christian origin, but like most of his compeers found it to his advantage to embrace Islam. He occupied the post of accountant in the Revenue Department at Bagdad, and we know nothing further of him but that he died in 948. His work on the revenue contains some interesting geographical notes.

4. Ya'kûbi (also called Ibn Wâdhih) was both historian and geographer. In his history, which was written as early as the year 871 A.D., he clearly states that the Dome of the Rock was the work of the Caliph 'Abd al Mâlik, and gives the reason that prompted him to construct it.[1] His geography was written some twenty years later than his first work, or about the year 891. It unfortunately has not reached us in a perfect state, but the section relating to Syria is in tolerably good preservation. The work is curious, for it gives notes on the settlements made by the various Arab tribes who had migrated into Syria, otherwise it is little more than a bare list of provinces with their chief cities, and only interesting for the information of what were great towns in those days.

Of Y'akûbi's biography but little is known. It would appear that he was born in Egypt, passed the earlier part of his life in Khurasân and

[1] A translation of this passage and of some others giving early notices of Jerusalem will be found in my paper in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1887.

the further east, and came back to spend his latter years on the banks of the Nile in the land of his birth.

5. Ibn al Fakîh, the author of a very curious geographical miscellany, was a native of Hamadân, in western Persia, and flourished during the Caliphate of Al Mo'tadhid at Bagdad. He wrote his work about the year 903 A.D., but unfortunately we only possess it in the form of a somewhat arbitrary abridgment made by a certain 'Ali Shaizari, of whom little more is known than his name. Ibn al Fakîh gives us a careful description of the Haram Area at Jerusalem, and is also, so far as I know, the first Arab author who notices the great stones at Baalbek, of which he notes the measurements.

6. The next name on the list is that of a Spanish Arab, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, born at Cordova in 860, and died in the same city in 940. He composed an extremely interesting historical work, extending to three volumes in the Cairo printed edition, giving us details that are found nowhere else of the life and manners and customs of the pre-Islamic Arabs and others. The book is named "The Collar of Unique Pearls," and in it there is a chapter describing in great detail the appearance of the Haram Area at Jerusalem. Whether or not the author ever visited the Holy City I have been unable to discover; but if his description is not from his own observations he must at least have borrowed it from someone who was capable of making good use of his eyes.[1]

7. Mas'ûdi is the author of the most entertaining historical work to be found in the whole range of Muslim literature. His "Meadows of Gold" begin with the Creation, and tell us all the Arabs knew of universal history down to the year 943, when the work was written. Mas'ûdi was born in Bagdad towards the end of the eighth century of our era. In his youth he travelled widely, visiting Multân and India, and passing through Persia a second time on his way to India and Ceylon, whence he returned to Bagdad *viâ* Madagascar. He travelled through Palestine in 926, and spent some time at Antioch; then went and settled in Egypt about the year 955, where he died a year later, at Fostat, now called Old Cairo. Spread up and down his numerous volumes of historic lore are many geographical notes, which are of considerable value, especially when it is remembered the early period at which the author wrote, his powers of observation, and his great learning.

8, 9. The names of Istakhrî (wrote 951) and Ibn Haukal (wrote 978) must be taken together, for the latter, who is by far the better known of the two, only brought out an emended and somewhat enlarged edition of the work of the former, giving it his own name. We have here to deal with the first systematic geography of the Arabs. It is not a mere road book, such as was Ibn Kurdâdbih's, or a revenue list, as Kudamah's, but a sober description of each province in turn of the Muslim Empire, with its chief cities and notable places. Istakhrî, a native of Persepolis, as his name implies, wrote his book to explain the maps that had been drawn

[1] See the translation in *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1887.

up by a certain Balkhi, about the year 921, which maps are unfortunately not extant. Of Istakhrî and Ibn Haukal all that we know is that they were both by trade merchants, and that they travelled far and wide in the pursuit of commerce. All further biographical details are wanting.

10. Of Mukaddasi I need say little here, having already given details of his life and work in the preface to my translation of his account of Syria and Palestine, recently published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. He wrote in 985, and his description of the Holy Land and its cities is the more valuable from his being himself a native of Jerusalem, as indicated by his name, Al Mukaddasi, the Hierosolymite.

11. Rather more than half a century later than Mukaddasi, and about half a century before the first Crusade, the Persian traveller, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, passed through Palestine on his way to Mecca. He was in Jerusalem in 1052, and his description of the Holy City and the Haram Area is most minute, and extremely valuable, as being the last we have of the holy places before the coming of the Crusaders. Further details I need not give here, since before long I hope to bring out a translation from the Persian original of the Palestine section of his diary, to be included in the same series that has published Mukaddasi. The British Museum possesses a minute but very beautiful MS. of his work, and by its aid I have been able, I think, to emend many of the obscure passages in the edition of the French *savant*, M. C. Schefer.

12. The geographer, Idrisi, is perhaps better known in the west than any other Arab writer on this subject. As long ago as 1592 the text was printed in Rome. His geography was written in 1154, at the request of the Norman king, Roger II, of Sicily, at whose court he resided. Idrisi was born at Ceuta, but of Spanish Arab parents. He travelled much, for he relates that he has seen the English and French coasts, and has lived at Lisbon. His description of Palestine is excellent, and that of Jerusalem in particular is interesting, for he wrote of it as it was during the occupation of the Crusaders. It would not, however, appear that he himself visited the Holy Land, and his information, therefore, must have been derived from the accounts that he obtained at the Court of Roger from books, and from those who had travelled in that country.

13. Another Muslim who has left us a description of sites in Palestine during Crusading times is 'Ali of Herat, who wrote in 1173 a small work on "The Places of Pilgrimage." Its most interesting section is that describing Hebron, wherein he gives an account of a visit to the Cave of Machpelah.[1] 'Ali of Herat, though of Persian origin, wrote in Arabic. The text of his work has not, as far as I know, ever been printed; but the Bodleian possesses a good MS. copy. 'Ali died at Aleppo in 1215.

14. In 1185, two years before Saladin reconquered Jerusalem, the northern part of Palestine was visited by the traveller Ibn Jubair, a Spanish Arab, born at Valencia in 1145. Ibn Jubair set out out on his

[1] I have given a translation of Yakût's version of the story in my paper on Suyûtî.—J.R.A.S., vol. xix, 1887, April.

travels from Granada in 1183; he came first to Egypt, went up the Nile, and then across the desert to Aidhab, on the Red Sea, whence he reached Mecca, and subsequently Medina. Thence he crossed Arabia to Kufah and Bagdad (of which he has left a most interesting account), and travelling up the Tigris bank, crossed from Mosul to Aleppo, travelled down to Damascus (of which he has also given a detailed description), and thence on to Acre, where he took ship, and ultimately landed again on Spanish soil at Carthagena in 1185. Unfortunately for us he did not visit Jerusalem. He made two other journeys to the East subsequent to the one above mentioned, and on the return journey died at Alexandria, in Egypt. His description of the places he saw is lively and exact, although from the ornate style in which he wrote a literal translation of his diary would be tiresome reading.

15. For the immense extent of his labours and the great bulk of his writings Yakût has certainly the first rank among Muslim geographers. By birth a Greek and a slave, he was brought up and received a scientific education at Bagdad, in his master's house, who was a merchant. The details of his biography would take too long to recount here; suffice it to say that at various periods of his wandering life he sojourned at Aleppo, Mosul, Arbela, and Marv, and that he fled from this latter city (in those days renowned for its numerous libraries) in 1220 on the advent of the armies of Jenghis Khân. Travelling across Persia and through Mesopotamia, he ultimately reached Syria, and settled down at Aleppo, in which city he died in 1229. His great geographical lexicon, which describes in alphabetical order every town and place of which Yakût could obtain any information throughout the many kingdoms of the Muslims, was completed in the year 1225. It is a storehouse of geographical information, the value of which it would be impossible to over-estimate, and since no translation has ever been attempted of the articles therein relating to Palestine and Syria I hope to bring to light much that is new by giving an English version of what the great geographer has to say about the cities and sites of the Holy Land.

After the days of Yakût there is indeed very little new to be learnt fram the Arab geographers.

16. Dimashki, born in 1256 at Damascus (as his name implies), wrote about the year 1300 a very jejune description of his native land. He was a contemporary of Sultan Bibârs, and his work is of some value in connection with the Crusading Chronicles. He died at Safed in 1327.

17. His contemporary, Abu 'l Fidâ, some time Prince of Hamâh, and a collateral descendant of the great Saladin, is a geographer of far higher merit. His chapter on Syria and Palestine is for the most part not copied from books, for as he is describing his native country he writes from personal observation. The work was completed in 1321. Abu 'l Fidâ himself was born at Damascus in 1273. He lived under the Mamlûk Sultans Kalaun, Lajûn, and Malik en Nâsir, and was made Governor of Hamâh in 1310, in which city he died in 1331.

18. Ibn Batûtah, the Berber, may well take rank with the Venetian,

Marco Polo, for the marvellous extent of his journeyings. He was born at Tangiers about the year 1300, and at the age of twenty-five set out on his travels.

Of these he has left us a full description, written in the year 1355. His route in the barest outline is all that can be indicated in this place. Starting from Morocco he visited in succession Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt; going up through Palestine and Syria, he accompanied the Hajj to Medina and Mecca, went thence on through Mesopotamia to Persia, and returning, spent some months, first at Bagdad, and subsequently at Mosul. From Mosul he went again to Mecca, and from there travelled through Yemen, and so back to Egypt. From Egypt he took ship for Asia Minor, and afterwards visited Constantinople, the Crimea, Astrakhan, Khârizm, Tartary, Transoniana, Afghanistan, and finally reached India, where he spent a considerable time at Delhi. From India he sailed to the Maldive Islands and Ceylon, taking them on his way to China; and on the return journey visited Sumatra. After long voyaging he again found himself at Mecca, and from the Holy City took his way home to Fez *viâ* the Sudan and Timbuctoo. He subsequently visited Spain; and died at Fez, at an advanced age, in the year 1377.

Ibn Batûtah's account of what he saw in Palestine is extremely curious, and his description of Jerusalem goes into considerable detail. Possibly it might be worth while to translate his Palestine route *in extenso*, and give it in the form of one of the "Pilgrims."

19, 20, and 21. The last three names on the list are those of the Jerusalem Topographers. The earliest of them, the author of the much quoted "Muthîr al Ghirâm"—which only exists in MS.—wrote in the year 1351.

His work forms the foundation of the description of Jerusalem, written in 1470 by Shams ad Dîn Suyûtî,[1] and lastly, Suyûtî *plus* the "Muthîr" has been incorporated by Mujîr ad Dîn, chief judge of the Holy City, in the detailed description he has given us of Jerusalem, written a quarter of a century later than Suyûtî, in the year 1496. From a topographical point of view these three taken together correct one another, and the last of them describes the sites of Jerusalem very much as they stand at the present day.

A few words must now be added in conclusion to indicate the method it is proposed to follow in the work I hope, before very long, to lay before the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund. A first chapter therein will be devoted to a general account—as found in the various Arab geographers—of Palestine and Syria; giving the political divisions of the country at various epochs, its products and peculiarities, its commerce, and, in short, all details that are of a general order. Next in place, as being by far the most voluminous, I propose to give the article on Jerusalem. It will contain a careful translation, with the needful notes,

[1] See J. R. As. Soc., April, 1887, for a full account and translation of the more important parts of his work.

of all that the Arab geographers have reported of the Holy City and its buildings. The descriptions of such travellers as Nâsir-i-Khusrau and Ibn Batûtah, as found in their diaries, will be here translated *verbatim*.

Special attention will, of course, be paid to the due arrangement in chronological order of the descriptions that have come down to us, of the buildings of the Dome of the Rock, and Aksa Mosque, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in order that the history of these buildings, *during the last thousand years*, may, by the testimony of contemporary writers, once and for all, be set at rest.

Following the chapter on Jerusalem will come one that will give the various accounts of Damascus. After these two, I propose to arrange under the place names in alphabetical order everything that I have been able to gather from the above enumerated authors, concerning each of the several towns and sites in Palestine and Syria. Some of the articles will naturally be confined to a few lines; others, such as those dealing with Hebron, Tiberias, the Dead Sea, the Sea of Galilee, &c., will contain a considerable amount of translation.

Lastly, I propose to add a classified "road book" of the distances between the various towns, as given by the geographers (citing the authority for each), since by this means we are often enabled to identify sites of places now gone to ruin, and further, we gain an idea of the extent of traffic along these high roads during all the centuries of the middle ages. A full index will, as a matter of course, be added, and as an introduction, a chronological table, for reference, of the various dynasties that have held sway in Palestine, from the first Arab conquest down to its last conquest by the Turkish Sultan, Selim I, in 1518.

Maps and plans of the various edifices described will also be inserted, as required, to elucidate the text.

Of the translations from the Arabic, I should say that in every case they will have been made by myself from the original texts, printed or MS. Among the score of authors enumerated above, some few have been already translated (in part or in whole) into Latin, French, or German. Of previous translations I shall of course make my use, and take profit at the same time by the notes the editor, or translator, may have added to his text. A full bibliographical list of the texts used will be given, and in this it will doubtless be a matter of surprise for some, to note that of these score of Arab geographers, only one has been edited (untranslated, in the Arabic text) by an Englishman, and only one has been translated into English, and that, unfortunately, after a fashion that renders it utterly unreliable for any purposes whatsoever.

GUY LE STRANGE.

IDRÎSÎ'S DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM IN 1154.

In connection with Professor Hayter-Lewis' excellent paper on the Aksa Mosque (see *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1887), the following translation of Idrîsî's description of Jerusalem in the year 1154 may be found of interest. Idrîsî wrote at a time when Jerusalem was still in the possession of the Crusaders.

My translation is made from the Arabic text printed by J. Gildemeister (Zeit. des Deutsh. Pal. Ver., Band 2, Heft 2, 1885), from a MS. copy lent to him by the Dutch Orientalist, de Goeje, which had been carefully collated with the MS. preserved in Paris and at Oxford.

Guy le Strange.

The Holy City.—Baït al Mukaddas, a beautiful city of ancient foundation, lasting for ever. It was anciently called Iliyâ (Ælia). It stands on a mountain, and you ascend to it from all sides. In plan it is long, and its length stretches from west to east.

Bâb al Mihrâb[1] is on its western side; and this is the gate over which is the Cupola of David, Kubbat Dâûd—peace be upon him.

Bâb ar Rahmah[2] is on the eastern side of the city. It is closed, and is only opened at the Feast of Olive-branches (Palm Sunday).

Bâb Sihyûn (Sion Gate) is on the south of the city.

Bâb 'Amûd al Ghurâb (the Gate of the Crow's Pillars)[3] lies to the north of the city.

When you enter (Jerusalem) by the (Jaffa Gate) Bâb al Mihrâb, which as aforesaid is the western gate, you go eastwards through a street that leads to the great church known as the Kanîsah al Kayâmah (the Church of the Resurrection), which the Muslims call Kumâmah (the Dunghill). This is a church to which pilgrimage is made from all parts of the Greek empire, both from the eastern lands and the western. You may enter (the Church) by a gate at the west end,[4] and the interior thereof occupies the centre space under a dome which covers the whole of the church. This is one of the wonders of the world.

The church itself lies lower than this gate, but you cannot descend thereto from this side.

Another gate opens on the north side,[5] and through this you may descend to the lower part of the church by thirty steps. This gate is called Bâb Santa Maria.

[1] The Gate of the Oratory (of David), *i.e.*, the Jaffa Gate.

[2] The Gate of Mercy. One half of the so called Golden Gate.

[3] The "Damascus Gate" is at the present day known as Bâb al 'Amûd," the Gate of the Piliar," what the "Crow" was I know not.

[4] No longer, I believe, in existence.

[5] Also closed at the present day by external buildings occupying the part north of the "Aisle of the Church of the Crusaders."

When you have descended into the interior of the church you come on the most venerated Holy Sepulchre. It has two gates, and above it is a vaulted dome of very solid construction, beautifully built, and splendidly ornamented. Of these two gates, one is toward the north, facing the gate Santa Maria, and the other is toward the south, facing which is the Bâb as Salûbiyyah (the gate of the Crucifixion). Above this gate is the bell-tower[1] of the church.

Over against this,[2] on the east, is a great and venerable church, where the Franks of Ar Rûm (which is the Greek Empire) have their worship and services. To the east (again) of this blessed church, but bearing somewhat to the south, is the prison in which the Lord Messiah was incarcerated ; also the place of the Crucifixion.

Now as to the great dome (over the Church of the Resurrection), it is of a vast size, and open to the sky. Inside the dome, and all round it, are painted pictures of the Prophets, and of the Lord Messiah, and of the Lady Maryam, his mother, and of John the Baptist. Over the Holy Sepulchre lamps are suspended, and above the Place (of the Grave) in particular are three lamps of gold.

On leaving the great Church (of the Resurrection) and going eastwards, you come to the holy house built by Solomon, the son of David. This, in the time of the Jews, was a mosque (or house of prayer) to which pilgrimage was made, but it was taken out of their hands and they were driven from thence ; but when the days of Islam came, under the Kings of the Muslims, the spot came once more to be venerated, as the Masjid al Aksa.

The Masjid al Aksa is the great mosque (of Jerusalem), and in the whole earth there is no mosque of greater dimensions than this ; unless it be the Friday Mosque at Cordova, in Andalusia, which they say has a greater extent of roof than has the Aksa, but the court of the Aksa Mosque is certainly larger than is that of the mosque at Cordova.

(The Haram Area of) the Masjid al Aksa is four-sided, its length measures 200 fathoms (*bâ'*), and its breadth is 180 fathoms.

In that half (of the Haram Area) which lies (south) towards the Mihrâb (or prayer-nich) is (the main building of the Aksa Mosque), which

[1] Written in the Arabic *Kanbinâr*, Campanarium. This would go to prove the Tower of the Church of the Resurrection to be older than M. de Vogüe supposes (judging it on architectural grounds only), in his *Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 207. The great south portal of the Church, the only one at present in use, and immediately to the north of which stands the Bell Tower, is the one, as I take it, here called the "Gate of the Crucifixion." It is noteworthy that in Idrîsî's days the Church had three entrances, the one just mentioned, to the south ; one opposite, opening north (Gate of Santa Maria), and the West Gate, from which you could *not* descend into the body of the edifice.

[2] The Arabic has "opposite to her," *i.e.*, the Church of the Resurrection as I understand it. The Church of the Greeks is, I imagine, the present Catholicon, lying immediately east of the Rotunda of the Sepulchre, and to the present day belonging to the Greek community.

is roofed with domes of stone set on many rows of columns. The other half (of the Haram Area) is an (open) court, and is not roofed over.

In the centre of the (court of the) mosque rises the mighty dome known as the Kubbat as Sakhrah (the Dome of the Rock).

This dome is overlaid with gold mosaic, and is of most beautiful workmanship, erected by the Muslim Khalifs. In its midst is the Rock (the Sakhrah), which is said to have fallen down (from heaven). It is a mass of stone of the height of a platform, and occupies the centre under the dome.

The extremity of one of its sides rises above the floor to half a man's height or more, while the other side lies even with the ground. The length of the rock is near to equal with its breadth, and is some ten ells (*dhirâ'*) and odd by the like. You may descend into the interior thereof, and go down into a dark chamber, like a cellar, the length of which is ten ells, by five in the width, and the ceiling is above a man's height up. No one can enter this chamber except with a lamp to light him.

The Dome (of the Rock) has four gates. The western gate has opposite to it an altar whereon the Children of Israel were wont to offer up their sacrifices.[1] Near the eastern gate of the dome is the church which is called the Holy of Holies ;[2] it is of an admirable construction.

(The gate) to the south faces the roofed-in portion (which is the main building of the Aksa), which same was in former times the place of prayer of the Muslims. Since (the Holy City) was conquered by the Greeks (*i.e.*, the Crusaders), and it hath remained in their hands even down to the time of the writing of this book (in the year 1154 A.D), they have converted this roofed-in portion (which is the main building of the Aksa) Mosque into chambers wherein are lodged those companies of men known as Ad Dâwiyyah (the Templars), whose name signifies "Servants of God's House." Opposite to the northern gate (of the Dome of the Rock) is a beautiful garden, planted with all sorts of trees, and round this garden is set a colonnade of marble, of most wondrous workmanship. In the further part of this garden is a place of assembly, where the priests and deacons are wont to take their repasts.

Leaving the mosque (and crossing the Haram Area) you come, on the eastern side, to the Bâb ar Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy), which is now closed, as we have said before ; but near to this gate is another, which is open. It is called Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes), and through it there is much coming and going. When you have passed out by the Gate of the Tribes you reach the limits of the archery-ground, and find there a large church, and very beautiful, dedicated to the Lady Mary, and the place is known as Al Jismâniyyah (which is Gethsemane).

At this place also is her tomb, on the skirt of the Mount of Olives (Jabal az Zaitûn). Between it and the Gate of the Tribes is the space of about a mile.

[1] What this was I am unable to discover.

[2] This must be the present Dome of the Chain, *Kubbet as Silsileh.*

On the road ascending the Mount of Olives is a magnificent church, beautifully and solidly built, which is called the Church of Pater Noster; and on the summit of the mount is another church, beautiful and grand likewise, in which men and women incarcerate themselves, seeking thereby to obtain favour with Allah—be He exalted! In this aforementioned mount, on the eastern part, and bearing rather to the south, is the tomb of Al'Azar (Lazarus), whom the Lord Messiah raised again to life. Two miles distant from the Mount of Olives stands the village from which they brought the she ass on which the Lord Messiah rode on his entry into Jerusalem. The place is now in ruins, and no one lives there.

From the Tomb of Lazarus you take the road down to the Valley of the Jordan (*Wâdi al Urdunn*), and between the valley and the Holy City is the distance of a day's journey. Before reaching the River Jordan is the City of Jericho (Arîhâ), lying three miles distant from the bed of the river.

On the banks of the Jordan stands a magnificent church, called after Saint John (Sant Yûhannâ), where the Greek monks dwell.

The River Jordan flows out from the Lake of Tiberias (Buhairah Tabariyyah), and falls into the Lake of Sodom and Gomorah (Buhairah Sâdûm wa Ghâmûrâ), and these were two cities of the people of Lot which God overwhelmed because of the sins of their inhabitants. The land lying to the south of the River Jordan is one continuous desert.

Now as to what lies adjacent to the Holy City on the southern quarter:—When you go out by the Bâb Sihyûn (the Gate of Sion) you pass a distance of a stone's throw and come to the Church of Sion, which is a beautiful church, and fortified. In it is the guest-chamber wherein the Lord Messiah ate with the Disciples, and the table is there remaining even unto the present day. The people assemble here (for the Festival of Maundy) Thursday.

From the Gate of Sion you descend into a ravine called Wâdî Jahannum (the Valley of Gehenna). On the edge of this ravine is a church called after the name of Peter, and down in the ravine is the 'Ain Sulwân (Spring of Siloam), which is the spring where the Lord Messiah cured the infirmity of the blind man, who before that had no eyes. Going south from this said spring is the field (al Hakl, Aceldama?) wherein strangers are buried, and it is a piece of ground which the Lord bought for this purpose (!); and near by to it are many habitations cut out in the rock wherein men incarcerate themselves for the purposes of devotion.

Bethlehem (Bait Lahm) is the place where the Lord Messiah was born, and it lies six miles distant from Jerusalem. Half-way down the road is the tomb of Rachel (Râhîl), the mother of Joseph and of Benjamin, the two sons of Jacob—peace be upon them all. The tomb is covered by twelve stones, and above it is a dome vaulted over with stone. At Bethlehem is a church that is beautifully built, of solid foundations, spacious and finely ornamented even to the uttermost, so that not among all other churches can be seen its equal. It is situated in a low-lying ground. The gate thereof is towards the west, and there are (in the

church) marble columns of perfect beauty. In one angle of the choir (*al haikal*), towards the north, is a cave wherein the Lord Messiah was born. It lies below the church, and in the cave is the manger wherein the Messiah was found. As you go out from Bethlehem you see towards the east the church of the Angels who told the good news of the birth of the Lord Messiah to the shepherds.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE ABBOT DANIEL.[1]

Russian pilgrimages to the Holy Land date from the conversion of the Russians to Christianity towards the close of the tenth century. As early as 1022 A.D. allusion is made, in the life of St. Theodosis of Kiev, to the presence of Russian pilgrims in Palestine; but the first whose name is known is St. Varlaam, Abbot of the Laura of Kiev, who visited Jerusalem in 1062 A.D. The earliest extant record of a Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land is that of Daniel, the Abbot, or Prior (Ἡγουμενος), of a Russian monastery, of whom nothing certain is known. It may be inferred from Daniel's reference to the river Snov, as a stream that possessed several of the characteristics of the Jordan, that he came from the province of Tchernigov, in Little Russia, through which the Snov runs; and he is supposed to have been the same Daniel who was Bishop of Suriev in 1115 A.D., and who died the 9th September, 1122 A.D.

Daniel was a contemporary of Nestor, the oldest of the Russian annalists, and his narrative is one of the most important Russian documents of the commencement of the twelfth century; its intrinsic merits seem to have made it extremely popular, and there are no less than 75 MSS., of which the earliest dates from 1475 A.D. The date of the pilgrimage can be fixed with considerable certainty from Daniel's own statements. He mentions the Russian Grand Duke Michel Sviatopolk Isiaslavowitsch (1093-1113), and Baldwin, King of Jerusalem (1100–1118); he also states that Acre belonged to the Franks, and as this city was taken by the Crusaders on the 26th May, 1104, the date must lie between 1104 and 1113. A closer approximation is, however, possible. Daniel tell us that he accompanied Baldwin on his expedition against Damascus, and M. H. Hagenmayer has shown ("Ekkehardi Urangiensis abbatis, Hierosolymita," Tub 1876, pp. 360-362) that this expedition must have been one of those undertaken by the king between 1106 and 1108. Again, Daniel speaks of the attacks to which pilgrims were exposed from the Saracens of Ascalon; and William of Tyre mentions one of these attacks on Christians passing from Jaffa to Jerusalem, which took place in the year 1107 ("Des choses avenues en la terre d'Outremer," xi, 4, Paris, 1879, vol. i, 384). Lastly, it will be observed that, in the very minute description which Daniel gives of the

[1] This tractate forms the latest issue of the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society.

ceremony of the "Holy Fire," no allusion is made to the Latin patriarch, and that one of the bishops takes the place that Fulcher de Chartres assigns to the patriarch. Now, we know that there was no Latin patriarch at Jerusalem during Easter, 1107, for Dagobert left the city in 1103, and Ebremar, his substitute, started for Rome towards the end of 1106. The Easter week which Daniel passed at Jerusalem must therefore have been that of 1107, and his pilgrimage was probably made during the years 1106–1107 A.D.

The wide field which Daniel's narrative covers—wider than that of any previous pilgrim—its fulness of detail, the light that it throws on the condition of the country a few years after its conquest by the Crusaders, and the evident good faith in which it is written, give it an importance and value that have not, hitherto, been sufficiently recognised. Daniel travelled extensively in Palestine west of Jordan; he visited most of the sanctuaries, holy places, and monasteries, and, having provided himself everywhere with the best guides, he wrote down a minute description of all he saw. According to his own account (p. 73) he described nothing that he did not see with his own eyes, and this is supported by the internal evidence of the narrative, for when he cannot visit a place, he frankly admits that he is dependent upon others for his information. Incidentally the Russian Abbot throws some curious light on the unsettled state of the country, and the dangers to which travellers were exposed, on the roads, in the earlier years of the Latin kingdom. At Lydda, on the high road from Joppa to Jerusalem, pilgrims pass the night in great fear of raiding Saracens from Ascalon; brigands frequent the road from Jerusalem to Jericho; on the forest-clad hills near Solomon's Pools, Saracen bands from Ascalon lie in wait for those journeying from Bethlehem to Hebron; the mountains south-east of Bethlelem are so full of brigands that Daniel and his companions have to travel under the protection of a Saracen chief. No one can proceed from Jerusalem to the Sea of Galilee without an armed escort; the Saracens of Beisan attack travellers as they ford the streams; impious Saracens massacre Christians going from Mount Tabor to Nazareth; and Lebanon cannot be visited on account of the infidels. We learn, too, that panthers and wild asses still found a home in the Wilderness of Judæa; and that lions in large numbers frequented the jungle in the Jordan Valley; whilst the date-palm, which has since disappeared, flourished in the semi-tropical climate of Jericho and Beisan.

Daniel's narrative derives additional interest from the fact that the writer was not only a member of the Russian (Greek) Church, but the abbot of a monastery, and, presumably, a man of some education and intelligence. It is written in a devout, believing spirit, such as might be expected in a Greek priest, and shows no trace of hostility towards the dominant Latin religion. Daniel was accompanied throughout his pilgrimage by a monk of the Greek Laura of St. Sabbas, "a very pious man of advanced age, who was well-versed in the Scriptures;" and he was a welcome guest at the numerous Greek monasteries throughout the country. His traditions are those of the Eastern Native Church, referred to by Sæwulf

and others as Assyrian or Syrian traditions ; he is evidently well acquainted with the Apocryphal Gospels in their Greek forms, and he quotes from the Protevangelium of James, whence several of the traditions are derived. The relations between the Greek and the Latin Churches in Palestine appear to have been most friendly at this period, and the deference paid by the King of Jerusalem to the Greek clergy and the monks of St. Sabbas is specially noteworthy. The Greeks have charge of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and keep the keys of the Sepulchre gate ; and during the Easter ceremonies the Greek lamps are placed on the tomb itself, whilst those of the Latins are suspended above it. The description of the descent of the Holy Light, or Fire, agrees in all essential particulars with that of Fulcher de Chartres (1101 A.D.), who was present on the memorable occasion when the Holy Fire did not kindle the lamps till Easter Sunday. Both writers describe the flame as being of a ruddy colour, and mention that all present joined in the Greek cry, "Kyrie Eleison." Daniel says that the Greeks and Latins read the service for Easter Saturday together; Fulcher, that the Franks first read each lesson in Latin, and that the Greeks then read the same lesson in Greek. In the Frank account of the ceremony the patriarch is said to have opened the door of the tomb ; in the Russian, one of the Latin bishops ; a difference explained by the absence of the Latin patriarch at the time of Daniel's visit.

Daniel is on the whole fairly accurate, but he occasionally falls into error, and some of his blunders betray an ignorance of Scripture not very creditable to himself or to his guide, the learned monk of St. Sabbas. Geographical errors, such as the location of Capernaum on the sea coast near Carmel, the identification of Lydda with Ramleh, of Cæsarea Philippi with Kaisaríyeh (Cæsarea Palæstina), of Samaria with Náblus ; and of Bashan with Beisán; and the statement that Decapolis was a town, may be set down to the general ignorance of the period. There are other blunders, however, for which far less excuse can be made, such, for instance, as the quaint account of the battle near Jericho, during which the sun stood still whilst Joshua conquered Og, King of Bashan ; the statement with regard to events said to have taken place at Beisán (p. 60), and the manner in which Mark i, 16–18, is mixed up with i, 19, 20 (p. 64). Little dependence can be placed on the distances and dimensions given in the text, the old Roman itineraries had fallen into disuse, and the former are only approximate, whilst the latter are in most cases erroneous either from corruption of the text or from having been hastily written down from imperfect information. In giving the direction of a place, Daniel usually refers to the position of the sun at the winter or summer solstice, which seems almost like a reminiscence of the remote days, when pointer stones were set up to mark the sun's furthest deviation north and south, and general rejoicing announced the day when the point of sunrise commenced to return northwards.

Daniel commences his itinerary at Constantinople whence he went by sea to Jaffa, visiting on the way Ephesus, Cyprus, and several other places. His voyage appears to have been uneventful ; he carefully par-

ticularises the localities where various saints and holy men were buried ; mentions the "holy dust" that rises each year from St. John's tomb, and the cross suspended in mid-air above Mount Trodos in Cyprus, and describes the way in which storax is collected on the mountains of Lycia. From Jaffa he travelled by Lydda, which he found deserted ; and Nebi Samwíl, identified with Armathem (Ramathaim Zophim), to Jerusalem. On the brow of Mount Scopus, in full view of the Holy City, he dismounted to pray, and then, full of exceeding joy, proceeded on foot past the church and tomb of St. Stephen to the present Jaffa Gate where, under the shadow of the citadel, all travellers entered Jerusalem during the rule of the Franks.

The Abbot took up his abode in the Metochia, or "Pilgrim House" of St. Abbas, near the Tower of David, which was then occupied by Greek monks who had escaped from a recent massacre at the better known Laura of St. Sabbas, now Mar Saba. Under the guidance of a monk of the Laura he visited the holy places, and his description of their condition before the Franks carried out any extensive building operations is of much interest. His narrative is fuller than that of Sæwulf, who visited Jerusalem four or five years before him, and he mentions several minor "holy places," such as the "Pit of Jeremiah," the "House of Uriah," and the compounds of Judas and Paul, which are not noticed by the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim. The description of the Church of the Resurrection, the Holy Sepulchre, and the group of holy places round it, is discussed in Appendix II ; that of the Church of the Holy of Holies, now the "Dome of the Rock," is chiefly noteworthy for the statement that the building was the work of a Saracen chief named Amor, evidently a corruption of the name of Omar, the conqueror of Jerusalem. The legends gathered round the tomb of the Virgin in Cedron, and the church on Mount Sion, which was supposed to be the house of St. John the Evangelist, are detailed at some length, and they afford an interesting illustration of the class of information given by the Jerusalem guides of the early part of the twelfth century to pilgrims who belonged to the Eastern Church.

From Jerusalem Daniel made two excursions : the first to the Jordan and Dead Sea, during which he visited Jericho, and the Greek monasteries in the Jordan Valley, and the Wilderness of Judæa ; the second to Bethlehem, Hebron, where the Crusaders had not yet built their church, and the monastery of St. Chariton. After returning to Jerusalem from Hebron he obtained permission from Baldwin to accompany the force which was about to march against Damascus under the leadership of the king himself. The route followed by the troops seems to have been by Bíreh, Lubbán Náblus, and Teísaír to Beisán, where some of the events connected with our Lord's life, including the healing of the two blind men, are localised. From Beisán the army marched to two bridges near the sources of the Jordan, which, according to Daniel, were two streams called Jor and Dan, that flowed from the Sea of Tiberias. The bridges appear to have been, that close to the point at which the Jordan now leaves the lake, of which traces can still be seen, and that known as the Jisr es Sidd, now in ruins, a

little below the junction of the two streams, "Jor and Dan," which then ran out of the lake and made an island of Kerak. The only other known site of a bridge is that of the Jisr Mujámiâ, a short distance lower down the river; but in that case we should have to suppose that the Jordan and the Yarmuk were the two streams mentioned. When Baldwin crossed the Jordan, Daniel went on to Tiberias, and spent ten days in visiting the holy places on the borders of the Sea of Galilee; he does not appear to have been able to leave the immediate vicinity of the lake, and was only able to see the environs of the Baheiret el Húleh, which he identifies with the Lake of Gennesareth, from a distance. According to the Russian Abbot the Jordan commences at its exit from the Sea of Tiberias, and he notices that portion of it above the lake merely as a large river flowing out of the Lake of Gennesareth. From Tiberias, Daniel went to Mount Tabor, where he heard the curious legends connected with the cave of Melchisedek; Nazareth, where the Latins had already firmly established themselves; Cana of Galilee, and Acre. After resting four days at the last place, he journeyed southwards by Haifa and Kaisaríyeh to Náblus; and so on by Bethel to Jerusalem.

After witnessing the ceremony of the descent of the "Holy Light," in the Church of the Resurrection, on Easter Saturday, 1107 A.D., the Russian pilgrim commenced his homeward journey. He travelled by the Convent of the Cross; 'Ain Kárim, the home of Zacharias, and the birth-place of John the Baptist; Sand 'Amwás, which has been laid waste by the infidels, to Jaffa; and thence by Arsúf, Kaisaríyeh, Haifa, Tyre, and Sidon, to Beirút. Whether he embarked at Beirút or at Suédiah, the port of Antioch, is uncertain; but in either case he followed the coast pretty closely, and after having been robbed by pirates, off the Lycian Coast, near Patara, eventually reached Constantinople in safety.

NOTES ON THE *QUARTERLY STATEMENT.*

The Statement for October, 1887, shows that the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund is not falling off. Mr. Petrie's valuable casts have convinced Dr. Taylor (and I believe Dr. Sayce) of the existence of a Turanian element in Egypt, and of the Mongol origin of the Hittites. But these are not new ideas. As regards Egypt, we may refer to Rev. H. G. Tomkins's drawings in the "Life and Times of Abraham." As regards the Hittites, the late Dr. Birch, in 1882, pointed out from Rosellini's drawings the Mongolian character of the Hittites, and after seeing these beautiful designs I published my adherence to this view in 1883 in "Heth and Moab." The basis of my Hittite theory is thus accepted at length by many competent authorities.

The great Sidon find is illustrated by many known antiquarian facts. The horse led in procession (p. 202) recalls the horses in Etruscan tombs.

Horses were sacrificed at tombs in many parts of Europe and Asia, the horse sacrifice in India being reckoned of primary value next to that of human beings. The griffins and sphinxes are common to Akkadians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Etruscans. Dogs seem to have had special importance, among the Phœnicians as among the Zoroastrians, but dogs' skulls have been found in Etruscan tombs. The fawn for which the centaurs contend might be connected with the fawns torn in pieces in honour of Dionysius. The water libations recall the common custom of pouring out water at funerals, or upsetting it on the occurrence of a death (compare the idea mentioned by Shakespeare of death depending on the tide). Perhaps the rite was symbolic of the ebbing life. The colouring of the sculptures indicates perhaps an early date, though painted tombs occur in Byzantine times. There are many painted figures in Phœnicia, and the early statues found recently at Athens were painted. So were early Greek temples, while the painted tombs of Egypt and of Etruria hardly need to be recalled. It seems to me that the chambers *above* the chief interment are not likely to be later than the lower tomb, but the sarcophagi may of course have been placed there afterwards. Anyhow, the cemetery is as early as the Persian period. The fish-scale ornament of the lids has been noticed in several cases in Palestine and beyond Jordan. The find agrees with what is already known of the progress of Phœnician art. It is interesting to hear that the same ship bore to the Constantinople Museum a new Hittite text. Hamdi Bey, whom I have the pleasure of knowing, is the best curator the Museum has yet possessed, and the Turks will take care of the antiquities, the value of which they fully understand.

As regards the "boat-shaped graves" (p. 236), I think they should be compared with the anthropoid sarcophagi of Phœnicia, and with the wooden mummy cases in Egypt. The form follows that of the human body. The representation of the recumbent figure on the lid of sarcophagi developed, in Etruria, into a complete statue like those of mediæval monuments, save for the costume.

Lydda and Anti-Christ.—The legend of St. George at this place was fully treated some time back by M. Clermont Ganneau, but I quite believe it is founded on the old story common to Akkadians, Babylonians, Aryans, &c.

Page 238. Is it not rather an extreme view to say that the Greeks "borrowed their religious system from Egypt?" It is known that there is a greater Aryan element perhaps coming from the north, as Canon Taylor has pointed out at the last meeting of the British Association. There is also an element of Babylonian or Akkadian derivation, and a Phœnician element in the mixed mythology of Greece. Charon was probably not connected with Horus, but with the Etruscan Charun, "the black (or evil) god" of death.

Page 240. The name Baal Zephon can hardly be quoted as evidence, seeing that as early at least as 1600 B.C. there was a large Semitic element in the Delta. The Egyptian dictionary is full of Semitic words, as old as

the time of the Hyksos at least. The Phœnician influence in Egypt, before the Exodus, is an established fact generally allowed.

City of David.—I mean no disrespect to those who hold another view, and especially none to H. B. S. W. (by whose corrections I have often profited), when I say that the papers to which he refers seem to me to be inconclusive. I do not see any contradictions in the sentences of mine which he quotes. Perhaps they are obscure. I do not think Jerusalem was as large in David's time as in Hezekiah's, or as large in Hezekiah's as it afterwards became ; but I think David's Jerusalem was larger than a fourth-rate Fellah village of our own times. I have expressed no opinions as to the dates of books of the Old Testament, but no scholar supposes the Book of Chronicles to be as old as the Book of Kings.

It is quite possible, of course, that I may be wrong as to the application of the term "City of David," but this remains a matter of opinion in the present condition of exploration in Jerusalem ; and I have of late been very fully occupied with matters from which I think results of greater value may spring than would result, even if we all agreed how to understand this much debated term ; Elizabeth, Bessy, and Bess (p. 252) are forms or corruptions of one word, but Zion, Ophel, Millo, and Akra do not appear to be forms of one word. Solomon's palace on Ophel was not in the City of David.

C. R. C.

THE MARASH LION.

In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Mr. Rylands has just given some excellent copies of the Hittite inscription on this lion from the cast in the British Museum. I differ in a few cases from his copy of certain forms, but anyone who has seen the cast will know how difficult it is to make sure of some of the forms on this very crowded text, and the copy, as a whole, is very reliable.

Mr. Rylands seems to regard the text on the left side as the only Hittite text in which the first line begins from the left, but the same is the case in the fourth Hamath stone, which there is every reason to regard as complete, and also probably in one of the texts at Ibreez.

Mr. Rylands does not attempt any decipherment, but it is encouraging to see, in his general remarks, the influence of the publication of "Altaic Hieroglyphs." He says the lion stood at a corner, and compares it with the great Assyrian lion standing close by. He also speaks of "compound emblems" as occurring in the text. These remarks will not, I believe, be found in any other work before my book was published. Mr. Rylands does not allude to the curious "included emblem," which is unique.[1]

[1] These "included emblems" occur not only in cuneiform, but also in a good many cases in Egyptian ; but in Hittite they seem very rare—another indication of the early character of the Hittite script.

His drawing of a demon head I have verified from the cast and find very correct. Speaking of the emblem accompanying the oft-repeated *altar*, he confuses, I think, two distinct Hittite signs, viz., C, which is usually a suffix, and I C, which is always a prefix. It is the first which is found so often attached to the altar, and which compound I read *Bar-d*, but the altar occurs without this suffix C = *d* (or *ak*), and when alone probably reads *Bar*.

C. R. Conder

REPLY TO CAPTAIN CONDER'S NOTES ON ZION.

If silence gives consent, the opponents of Ophel being the site of the City of David are convinced of their error, and it only remains for me briefly to notice Captain Conder's objections in *Quarterly Statement*, 1887, p. 105.

1. He asks, "Is it certain that the words City of David are always used with the same meaning" in the Bible. I answer, without hesitation, Yes, as no evidence placing it elsewhere than on Ophel has yet withstood investigation.

2. He takes "the field of burial of the Kings," "the Garden of Uzzah, near Solomon's Palace on Ophel," to be a different place from "the Tombs of the Kings of Israel," *i.e.*, of David and other kings. Here are several mistakes.

a. The "field" and the "garden" were distinct places. For Manasseh was buried "in his house," or "in the garden of his house, in the garden of Uzzah." This house or palace was that built by Solomon near the Temple (within the "enclosure of Herod's Temple," "Handbook," 340), but "the Sepulchres of David," which Captain Conder (106) takes to be equivalent to this "field of burial," were not only, as he admits, on Ophel, but also between the Pool of Siloam and the pool that was made (Neh. iii, 15, 16), and so certainly not north of the Virgin's Pool. In other words, Manasseh's tomb was at the north end of Ophel, so called, and Uzziah's towards the southern side, so that the two localities were quite distinct.

b. Captain Conder admits that the field of burial where Uzziah was buried was on Ophel, but 2 Kings xv, 7, states that he was buried with his fathers in the City of David. Therefore the City of David was on Ophel, and my position is proved by Captain Conder himself. This mistake of his, which I pointed out six years ago (1881, 95), seems to show that "disputants retain their opinions," probably because they do not carefully examine the evidence bearing on the question under discussion, even to comparing Chronicles with Kings.

But further, Uzziah was buried with "his fathers." As all the kings after David and Solomon downwards to Uzziah, with only one exception,

are all said (see H. B. S. W.'s table, 1882, 266) to have been buried "with their fathers," we have a distinct Biblical assertion that they were all buried together in the same locality, though not all in the same sepulchres.

Therefore, *nolens volens*, Captain Conder is forced to admit (if argument influences him) : 1, that David was as much buried on Ophel as was Uzziah, and (2) that the Sepulchres of David (Neh. iii, 16), need not mean anything else than the place where David was actually buried. The fact is the southern part of Ophel was the cemetery for good and bad kings alike down to the time of Manasseh.

3. When Captain Conder says that there is no doubt that Akra was west of the Temple, he makes a statement directly contrary to the whole testimony of Josephus, as I showed (*Quarterly Statement*, 1886, 26). Here, again, I must suppose that he has not read my remarks on his theory.

4. Captain Conder's energy seems to waste itself in opposing a theory which places David's capital on the little spur of Ophel. Let me say once for all, that (in these pages) no one has ever advocated such a theory. It is a chimera of Captain Conder's own invention. He has indeed attributed it to me and also to Professor Sayce, but both of us have distinctly repudiated it. My theory is, that even in the time of Joshua, Jerusalem occupied ground on both sides of the Valley of Hinnom (*i.e.*, the Tyropœon), being both in Judah and Benjamin, and therefore was not confined to Ophel, while Professor Sayce includes the temple hill in his Jerusalem of David's time, though wrongly, I admit. If, ceasing to fight with his own shadow, Captain Conder will turn his attention to the arguments of H. B. S. W., and to mine, perhaps we shall soon have the aid of his pen against other errors.

5. Captain Conder thinks that no engineer would be able to agree that a fortress could have stood on Ophel. I can forgive one of my cloth (Canon Tristram, 1885, 107 ; 1886, 34) falling into error on this point ; but, O ye heroes of Rorke's Drift, what think ye of a R.E. rejecting Ophel as indefensible, when with time and stone without stint, a position that with a wall of 50 feet high would not on any side be overtopped within 400 feet, is condemned off-hand as untenable ?

What, I ask, at a distance of 400 feet, had a stone fortress in David's time to fear from bows, slings, and javelins, and even all Jonathan's artillery ? The answer must be, Nothing.

6. Access to the Gihon spring, Captain Conder takes to have nothing to do with the position of the castle (of) Zion, as other fortresses were often far away from the nearest spring. Exactly so, and all the other fortresses in the mountains were accordingly captured, while Zion for four centuries remained secure, and was only at last taken by treachery. Even Antiochus the Great could not take Rabbath Ammon, until its water supply was cut off. In opposition to Captain Conder I may quote the words of Sir Charles Warren in 1879 : "The strongest point to my mind in favour of Ophel having been the ancient site of the Jebusite city is the fact of the one spring of water being found there. I have carefully noted the manner in which the Kafirs have located themselves close to water

in their various strongholds, and I think, that, unless there were very urgent reasons, the Jebusites would have located themselves near what is now called the Virgin's Fount."

It seems hardly fair that Captain Conder should bear the whole burden of fighting against the truth. Will none of those who hold somewhat the same opinions, as Canon Tristram and Sir C. Warren, or who spread his Jerusalem errors, as Mr. Henderson in his "Palestine," do justice to their views by trying to defend them in these pages? A little investigation would, I hope, reveal to them how greatly one is misled by taking Jerusalem sites on trust.

W. F. Birch.

THE CITY OF DAVID.

III. Zion, South, not North of the Temple.

Fergusson, followed by Thrupp (and Lewin partly), placed Zion rightly on the eastern hill, but wrongly north of the Temple.

Let me briefly point out the unsoundness of the arguments alleged in favour of this northern site.

1. He quotes Psalm xlviii, 2, "Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king." These words seem to me too ambiguous for any argument to be built upon them. Thrupp (Jerusalem, 19) refers to the Prayer Book version: "Upon the north side lieth the city of the great king," which, he adds, "may be taken as identical with the City of David." If Hebrew scholars will agree that the original words *must* mean that the city lieth on the north side of Mount Zion, and cannot mean that Mount Zion is on the north side of the city (as I interpret them), the supporters of the northern site are welcome to have this passage in their favour.

2. On this verse Fergusson quotes the Rabbis from Lightfoot as in his favour, but he errs with Lightfoot (as they are really against him), overlooking the distinction between *Zion*, the City of David, of the historical books of the Bible, and Mount Zion which always, in 1 Macc., means the Temple hill (xiv, 27, compared with 48), if not in the Bible.

Lightfoot, with Psalm xlviii, 2, compares Isaiah xiv, 13: "I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation (*i.e.*, Mount Zion) in the sides of the north," and Ez. xl, 2, "He set me upon a very high mountain, by which was as the frame of a city on the south." He then quotes the Rabbis thus: "Aben Ezra, Mount Zion is on the north side of Jerusalem; Lyranus, Mount Zion is in the north part of Jerusalem; Kimchi, the Temple, was to be built on a mountain as before, and the City of Jerusalem is near it on the south;" and Lyranus again, "the Temple was in the north part, but the city in the south part." Lightfoot, however, not observing the above distinction, adds, "Behold! reader, Zion (he ought

to have said Mount Zion) on the north, in the Psalmist, and the city on the south part, in the Prophet." Elsewhere, Lightfoot makes the same mistake: "The mountain of the Temple will be found lying northward of Jerusalem," and he adds, "and Zion northward of the mountain of the Temple." See also prospect of the Temple: "Mount Moriah, this mountain seated in midst of Jerusalem . . . . . on the south Jerusalem; on the north side lay Mount Zion."

Thus, while the Rabbis say that Mount Zion (*i.e.*, the Temple) was north of Jerusalem, and the city south of the Temple (*i.e.*, Mount Zion), and only refer to *two* places; Lightfoot goes wrong making *three* places out of the *two*, through not discerning that Mount Zion was identical with the Temple, as in 1 Macc.

Thus the appeal to the Rabbis is *against*, and not in favour of, the northern site for the City of David.

3. Thrupp says, "That the Acra of Antiochus (*i.e.*, the City of David, 1 Macc. i, 33) stood to the north of the Temple, can hardly admit of question. Josephus, who is a competent authority on this point, tells us that it overlooked, or rather, overlay the Temple." Unfortunately, however, for this argument Josephus shows that he is *incompetent*, for he contradicts 1 Macc. (his authority for these times), and makes Nicanor go *down* from the Acra to the Temple, although 1 Macc. says distinctly that he went *up*. This northern theory is simply baseless. I have shown that the Rabbis are not its friends but its foes; that when it rests on Josephus, he contradicts 1 Macc. vii, 33. For it to agree with the Bible, Neh. iii must be chopped into pieces and pieced afresh, and, according to Thrupp, "David" altered into "Solomon," in Neh. xii, 37.

But here, against Fergusson (Temple of the Jews, 53), I maintain that Neh. iii is an *orderly* (1879, 176) description of the wall. The order of the verses is as important as the order of figures in a sum. Against Thrupp (Jerusalem, 172) I maintain that the "the House of David" cannot mean the Palace of Solomon, which stood not on the south-western, but on the eastern hill, and with which David had nothing whatever to do.

Indeed, in his last book (Temples of the Jews), Fergusson is willing to accept Ophel as an alternative site for the Sepulchres of David which were in "the City of David," while Thrupp and Lewin are inclined to admit that this term afterwards extended to the part south of the Temple. For 2 Chron. xxxiii, 14, which Thrupp claims, I must refer the reader to *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, 104.

I have already proved directly that the City of David was south of the Temple (1885, 100, 208; 1886, 26). I must also now claim to have proved this by the exhaustive process, for as it has been shown that there is no proof that it was *west*, or *south-west*, or *north* of the Temple, it only remains for it to have been *south*, the only other possible site, and this has again and again been demonstrated to be the true site. Therefore Zion, the City of David, was on Ophel.

IV.—Zion, not Jerusalem in General, in the Historical Books.

This broad view, which allows every site to be right, except the correct one, needs but little notice. It meant to make things pleasant all round, by telling each combatant his site was true, and could be proved by sound argument.

(1) As I have shown that there is no evidence for the western or south south-western or northern position for the City of David, while there is abundant evidence for the Ophel site, it is to be hoped we have heard the last of this greatest of imposters.

(2) It may be urged that the LXX in one passage substitutes Zion for Jerusalem (1884, 198), and that Josephus always substitutes Jerusalem for the City of David in speaking of the burial of the kings.

To this I would reply that Zion in the prophetical books often seems to be equivalent to Jerusalem, so that it might easily be interchanged for Jerusalem in the LXX, though possibly the translator in 1 Kings, viii, 1, may have made the change accidentally, or to show off his topographical knowledge.

Josephus, on the other hand, merely sacrificed precision by the alteration he made, and being perhaps perplexed thought this the best way out of his difficulty.

(3) It is urged that Josephus (Ant. VII, iii, 2) says that David called Jerusalem "the City of David." I ask—Whence did Josephus obtain this information? And if it is said he obtained it from 2 Sam. v, 9, then (in *Quarterly Statement*, 1886, 29) I showed how very far his paraphrase is from being true to his text.

I now claim to have proved beyond fear of refutation, that Zion, the City of David, was solely and entirely on Ophel.

Contradiction, without either argument or any attempt to meet the evidence I have brought forward, I take to reflect not on my theory, but on the intelligence of the opponent, as condemning a theory which he cannot upset.

To the map-makers I make my humble request that they will not for the future perpetuate a glaring and flagrant falsehood by ever writing the name, "the City of David," at Jerusalem, anywhere except on the hill south of the Temple.

W. F. Birch.

NEHEMIAH'S NIGHT-RIDE.

The topography of ancient Jerusalem is a very perplexing question, and in studying it, while nothing is more helpful than to compare the third chapter of Nehemiah with the twelfth, nothing is more vexing than to find that even the two accounts taken together are insufficient. They may, however, be supplemented, to some small extent, by Neh. ii. 13–15: "I went out by night by the valley gate, even toward the dragon's well,

and to the dung gate, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire. Then I went on to the fountain gate and to the king's pool: but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass. Then went I up in the night by the brook, and viewed the wall; and I turned back, and entered by the valley gate, and so returned."

I have always been inclined to fancy that Nehemiah left the city by the Jaffa gate, rode southward, made a vain attempt to ascend a re-entering angle at the Tyropœan valley, and retreating thence followed the brook Kedron northward, turned to the left at the N.E. corner of the city by the sheep gate, and thus got back to the Jaffa gate, after making the circuit of the city. But the valley gate may not be the Jaffa gate, and if Neh. iii, 13, means that the dung gate was only 1,000 cubits from the valley gate, it cannot be so. We have the dung gate bearing the same name still, and with the sewage flowing out near it. Taking this as a fixed point, the gate 1,000 cubits west of it is the gate of David. I will only assume, therefore, that Nehemiah left the city through some gate near the south-west corner. He then made towards the *dragon's well.* This we may probably identify with the Virgin's fountain, seeing that this fountain has been called the well of the dragon, and the well of the sun, and a common legend explains the intermittent flow of the water by declaring that a dragon lies within it who wakes and sleeps. When awake he stops the water, but when he sleeps it flows. (By the way, it seems worth remarking that in the myth of Cadmus the well of Ares was guarded by a dragon, which the hero killed.) Having come near to this well—towards it, but not unto it—Nehemiah bent his way northward to the dung gate. I conceive that the fountain gate and the king's pool, which he came to next, were situated in that part of the chine which is now within the city wall, and filled with *débris.* In Nehemiah's time it was so far from being filled that the entrance to the sepulchres of the kings was visible, and so far from being on a level with the ground east and west of it, that pedestrians in passing from one hill to the other had to make use of the stairs that went down from the City of David (see Neh. iii, 15; xii, 37).

Two or three things deserve mention here:—(1.) Such a re-entering angle appears to be required in order to find room for the length of the wall as indicated in Nehemiah's descriptions, for without this the many places mentioned will seem to be too crowded together. It is because there is such a sinus that the first company, in chap. xii, forsake the wall, and make use of the stairs of the City of David, after which they get on to the wall again. They may forsake the wall and take the short cut, either to reduce their journey to the same length as that of the second company, or possibly because that inner part of the wall was not broad enough to walk upon, or was not yet completely repaired.

(2.) The passages favour the idea that the City of David was on the eastern hill. The stairs "go down from the City of David," yet the

company goes up by those stairs in a journey which seems to begin somewhere near the Jaffa gate, and end at the Temple.

(3.) The obstruction to Nehemiah's progress seems to be accounted for by the nature of the spot. There being two walls running parallel to one another for some distance along the sinus, the destruction or dilapidation of both would result in double heaps of ruins in a narrow space.

(4.) It will be observed that the greatest desolation is found on the south side of the city, as though the last assault had taken place on that side. Nehemiah surveys the southern walls and gates first—surveys them leisurely—mentions one spot after another, and the impossibility of getting along; and then hurries over his journey by the brook and round the north of the city homeward. The impression we thus get of greater destruction on the southern side is confirmed by the description of the work of restoration in chapter iii, where it would appear that a larger number of independent workers find occupation on the southern side than on the northern. It is generally assumed that because the northern part of the city afforded higher ground, from which the assault could be delivered more easily, that, therefore, the city would always be assaulted on that side, and the southern and south-eastern parts would not suffer much. But even supposing this to be so during the actual assault, the conqueror might take all the more delight in demolishing afterwards the walls which had defied him.

GEORGE ST. CLAIR.

SEPULCHRES OF THE KINGS.

WHY should not excavations be made at Jerusalem with the direct object of finding the tombs of David, Solomon, and their successors? The area of search would be limited, for most of the kings were laid to rest "in the City of David."

1. We may assume that the tombs would be excavated in the hill-side. In a country so rocky as Palestine, the dead could not be buried in the soil as a general rule, for the soil would be absent and an excavation must be made. Tombs could be excavated in the side of a hill with less labour than from the upper surface, and would be more accessible.

In ancient Egypt tombs were built of brick and stone, or hewn in the rock, according to the position of the necropolis; and whenever the mountains were sufficiently near the latter was preferred (Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," chap. x).

Tombs thus excavated in the hill-side may be seen at Jerusalem, on the eastern side of the valley of Jehoshaphat.

At the so-called Tombs of the Kings, north of the city—the most noticeable sepulchre at Jerusalem, and regarded as the tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene—a trench is indeed sunk in the rocky level, and a large court also, open to the sky; but this artificial hollow is made for the

purpose of *obtaining* a hill-side where none existed, and the tombs are then excavated laterally.

The graves in the modern cemeteries at Jerusalem may be dug in the soil, but this exception is not to the point, because the "soil" is artificial *débris*, which has accumulated since the days of the early kings of Judah. Where the Mohammedan cemetery exists, under the east wall of the Haram Area, Sir Charles Warren found loose stone chippings and other rubbish to a depth of 70 or 80 feet; but on various parts of the rocky bottom the remains of stone walls, showing that the rock at one time formed the surface.

The Scripture statement that the kings were buried *in* the City of David is not inconsistent with the idea that the sepulchres were excavated from the outside; for the bodies, though carried out of the city for burial, and deposited in the rocky chamber, might very well be under the city streets, perhaps under the royal palace, and accessible by a shaft from the palace grounds.

2. The valley in which the tombs were cut would be some part of the Tyropœan, so that the area of search need not be very large. Much of the ground, fortunately, is accessible, either lying outside the walls, or covered only by cactus gardens within.

Certainly there is the moot question, on which hill was the City of David? and until this is decided we cannot tell whether we should keep to the eastern or the western side of the valley in our search. The Egyptians preferred western hills for their tombs, because they afforded a face to the east. The necropolis of Thebes was on the western side of the Nile. The temples built in front of a pyramid, for the worship of the king, and the *mastadas* erected above ordinary tombs have their entrance always from the east. We cannot be sure that the Hebrews would follow this example, but their temple on Mount Moriah opened to the east.

In the excavation made by Queen Helena, also, the portico is on the west side, and so, of course, is open to the east. On the other hand, some of the tombs on the eastern side of the Kedron Valley open to the west.

3. It is quite feasible that the tombs and the sarcophagi, perhaps even the bodily remains, should be found. They are not yet 3,000 years old, and we have recovered and identified the mummies of Egyptian monarchs of much older date. Wilkinson reminds us that the custom of embalming bodies was not confined to the Egyptians. "The Jews adopted this process to a certain extent, 'the manner of the Jews' being to bury the body 'wound in linen clothes with spices,' as Lazarus was swathed in bandages." We have no historical account of the sepulchres having been disturbed. While the Kings of Judah were in power the tombs of their ancestors would be safe, and after the accumulation of *débris* in the valley the mouth of the cave or excavation would be covered and hidden. Besides, even when tombs are rifled and bodies stolen, stone coffins remain, and inscriptions abide to tell us of the past—as we see by the sarcophagus of Cheops in the heart of the Great Pyramid. Think of the

intense interest that would attach to the discovery of David's tomb, with an inscription in the oldest form of Hebrew ever found!

4. Might not this question be submitted to a committee of experts who should decide upon the most promising points for probing the ground?

GEORGE ST. CLAIR.

THE SAMARITANS.

I. *Their Numbers.*—There appears to be some mistake abroad concerning the actual number of the Samaritans, and this, of course, affects the question of the probable survival of this interesting people for a longer or a shorter time. In Dean Stanley's "Lectures on the Jewish Church," Part I, Appendix II, mention is made of "the whole community—amounting, it is said, to 152, from which hardly any variation has taken place within the memory of man." This was during the Prince of Wales' visit to Palestine in 1862, and it does not lead us to expect any early decline. But Captain Conder, in "Tent-work in Palestine," assures us that year by year the Samaritans are dying out. "Clinging to Shechem and the Holy Mountain, they are the last left of the nation which in the fifth and seventh centuries spread far over Palestine and Egypt." "In 1872 the little community numbered 135 souls, of whom no less than 80 were males. The Moslems say that the number is never exceeded, and that one of the 80 dies as soon as a child is born. By the defection of Jacob Shellaby with his family they have been reduced to a total of 130 souls."

A decline of 17 souls in ten years—reducing the numbers from 152 in the year 1862 to 135 in the year 1872—would bring the numbers down to 110 in 1887, if the decline continued, and end in the speedy extinction of the race. On a recent visit to Nablus I made inquiry on this point, and my questions were put to the High Priest himself. His reply was that his people numbered from 96 to 100, but this (he said) was without counting certain women and children, who might bring up the number to 165. If these women and children were included in Dean Stanley's estimate, there would appear now to be some increase in the number of souls; but if they were not taken into account either by Dean Stanley or Captain Conder, it would seem that the decline of the little community is proceeding at an accelerated pace.

II. *The Ancient Copy of the Law.*—Travellers have spoken of the great difficulty they experienced in obtaining a sight of the most ancient Samaritan roll. In 1865 it was considered a great favour, I believe, shown to Sir Charles Wilson, that he should be allowed to photograph it for the Palestine Exploration Fund. Captain Conder describes the difficulties raised, in a later year, when he and Mr. Drake visited the Synagogue. The High-Priest Amram first brought out the latest scroll—written in black ink on parchment, rolled on two rollers, and enclosed in

two cylinders of brass—and affected to be surprised when Mr. Drake asked to see the next. They did see the next, which was of older appearance, also in a brass case, with huge knobs to the rollers. The High Priest and his nephew Jacob now declared that there was no older scroll, but Mr. Drake knew that there was, and eventually they succeeded in seeing it. It is kept in a silver case, and purports to have been written by "Abishuah, son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, in the thirteenth year of the possession by the children of Israel of the land of Canaan and all its boundaries."

Captain Condor found that the priests manifest the greatest reluctance to showing this sacred relic; it is a Samaritan Fetish, and is only seen by the congregation once a year, when elevated above the priest's head on the Day of Atonement.

I suppose, therefore, that the priests have adopted a new *ruse* to throw the curious off their guard, and that I and my companions were too credulous on our recent visit. We were shown first a book of the Law in volume form, which was said to be 750 years old. Next, an older looking copy, a *roll*, asserted to be 1,260 years old. Lastly, a roll in a silver case, which we were assured was written by Abishua, the great-grandson of Aaron, 3,472 years ago. I only carried in my mind that the first and second copies usually shown to travellers were comparatively modern, and I must insist on seeing a third; I did not remember that all three were to be *rolls*. And when the High Priest declared on his word that the third book which I had seen was really the oldest they possess, I thought probably he was to be trusted. I was a little surprised that he should sell me a photograph of himself, holding this roll open; but I supposed that a good deal of reticence might have disappeared since 1865, and *backsheesh* was year by year proving more potent.

I may mention that the silver case which contained the oldest copy of the Law shown to us was covered with engraved symbols, among which I noticed the cherubim (which appeared to have the head and wings of a bird); "Aaron's rod," which was quite a tree, and very much like the conventional tree of mythology; and the "flames from the altar," which had a conventional form, such as is seen in hieroglyphics. This silver case, we were told, was 300 years old.

GEORGE ST. CLAIR.